

6 / 13 July 1646

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Manifest Truth,

OR AN INVERSION OF

Truths Manifest.

Containing a *NARRATION*
of the Proceedings of the *Scottish Army*,
and a *Vindication* of the *Parliament* and
Kingdome of *England* from the false and
injuriously aspersions cast on them by
the Author of the said *Manifest*.

PROV. 18. 17.

He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour commeth and searcheth him.

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L O N D O N

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THE PREFACE.



Hough all possible care shall be taken, that this ensuing Discourse may need no Apology, yet the misconstruction it is lyable to in this quarrellsome age, may require a Preface; in which I shall not, as the Author of *Truths Manifest*, goe about to quicken the appetite of my Reader, by a self-commendation, but (if I regarded the praise of men) should much rather choose to be commended by another, in the end of my worke, then by my selfe in the beginning. But out of a great, and just tenderneffe of doing, or being thought to doe any thing, which might tend to any alienation betwixt these happily united Kingdomes, I thought fit to declare, as followeth.

First, that a hearty union betwixt the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, as it is most agreeable to Religion, and the solemne Covenant, so it is eminently requisite to their mutuall preservation, both from the illegall intrenchments of their owne King, and from the attempts of foreign Princes or States; for by such an inviolate

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conjunction, they shall be kept from being instrumentall to each others ruine, which hath lately been designed upon both successively by their owne King, that he might become absolute Lord of them both, to the prejudice, if not ruine, of Religion and Liberty. As also, Strangers, especially the *French*, shall be prevented in their wonted designe, which hath been to raise, and foment differences betwixt these Kingdomes, and have been forward to assist *Scotland* against *England*, not for love to *Scotland*, but hatred or feare of *England*, which they have looked upon as a dangerous Neighbour. And let me adde further, that the continuation and confirmation of this Union, will not prove onely an Ornament to the Protestant Religion, but a great advantage to the propagating of it, and will also make us more capable of righting our selves, Confederates, and Allies against any injuries or usurpations, that are or shall be offered. And I hope these apprehensions shall over-awe my pen, that it walke very circumspectly in the ensuing discourse.

Secondly, give me leave to say, that this Union doth not necessarily interre a confusion or mixture: but may as well, and it may be better stand, with a full reservation to each of their peculiar Lawes, Priviledges, Governments, and possesi-

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It is hard, if not impossible, to find two persons, that shall concur to an universall compliance in their friendship, but are glad to find a correspondence in some things, and content to yield a mutuall forbearance in others. This is more difficult to be found in States, who have besides their diversities of Lawes and Government, more differences of generall and particular Interests, then private persons are capable of. And though through Gods mercy, these two Kingdomes are more happy then other Confederates, who like bodies exactly sphericall touch but in a point, as they have occasion, by their Ambassadors, yet the nature of affaires, and men permits not they should meet, as two bodies exactly plaine in every point. For, though their Interests be the same, *sc.* the conservation of their Liberties against Tyranny, and Religion the choycest fruite of their Liberty, against any thing destructive to it, yet the customes and constitutions of the Kingdoms, and the dispositions of the people may be so different (besides other incident disadvantages) that an universall close is rather to be desired then expected: and something must be left to time, and more to him, who alone challenges the Prerogative of fashioning mens hearts alike.

And it may be added, that such an union is not
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onely not possible, but not necessary; for Conjunction, being but a meanes to some further end, is no further requisite, then it conduces to that end of mutuall preservation.

There is indeed, beside the benefit, a native beauty in unity: but to be violent in pressing of it, is to scratch the face that it may be beautifull, and when accomplishd (as it is thought) it will be found rather to be a paint, then a naturall complexion: I shall onely take Liberty to adde further, that the pressing an exact uniformity in Church, or a union of mixture in State, (the nature of persons and things not admitting it) may hinder a union of conjunction in those things, which are possible and necessary: And I pray God, it be not the Designe of some under the pretence of union, in things presently impossible, to promote a difference in that which is necessary.

Thirdly, as this discourse springs not from any principle of disaffection to the *Scottish* Nation, so I hope none will force any such conclusions from it, beyond my meaning, though without my guilt. For my part, I freely professe, that I think it may in its owne nature, as well as its intent, tend more to the preservation of union, then the occasioning of distraction. Upon this ground, we have patiently received and read two *Manifests*,

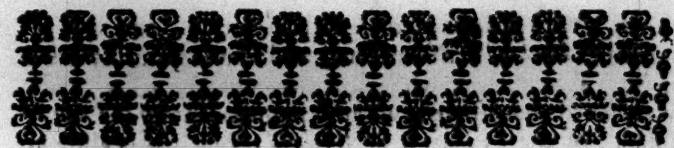
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septs, to which the Questionist from St. *Andremes* hath added something, not a little reflecting upon the *Parliament*, and Kingdome of *England*; the first untouch'd produced a second, this second may bring forth, and in the close of it intimates a third, and possibly a worse, till under pretence of justification of our brethren, the charges against our selves may grow intolerable, and occasion greater inconveniences.

Fourthly, I hope the distance of time intervening, betwixt the booke and the Answer, cannot afford an objection against it. First, I staid to see, if somebody that was more able, or more concerned, would undertake it. Secondly, it is a businesse of great tenderresse and importance, and occasioned many thoughts of heart, which did long delay it, but could not prevaile against it. For I am able truly to say, with the Author of *Truths Manifest*, that not so much the love and honour of my own Nation, which yet I hope shall be alwayes deare to me, as Covenant, and conscience, and consideration of the good of both Kingdomes, have put me upon this worke, and carried me through it, for it is found, that unequall compliances, especially with natures not so good, doe but make way for greater disadvantages, which cannot alwayes be borne. And though it be alwayes bet-

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terro suffer wrong then doe it, and sometimes better to receive wrong, then require right, yet the most beaten path to peace and justice, which I thinke now it becomes me, and others to walk in, is neither to doe wrong, nor to suffer it. For though a man may part with his owne Right for publick advantage, yet I know no Rule of parting with other mens right for my owne advantage. And therefore though not without sense, yet without feare of any danger that may spring from men, impatient and mindfull of oppositions, I enter upon the worke, in which I shall observe this method. First, to give a true and short *Narrative* of the proceedings of the *Scotch* Army since they came into *England*, wherein I shall endeavour to doe them all possible right. And secondly, make some Animadversions upon divers passages in *Truths Manifest*, wherein though something may be said against the *Manifest*, yet nothing against the *Truth*, for we can doe nothing against the Truth.



THE NARRATIVE.



After that the *Parliament* of *England* had consisted for the space of a yeare with the dangers and difficulties of this unhappy Warre (God in his Wisdome and Justice not seeing fit to direct us to the right improvement of our owne strength,) they dispatch Commissioners to the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to treat with them about the raising, and bringing in an Army to their assistance against the combination of Papists, Prelates, and Malignants, endeavouring to subvert Religion and Liberty; The Commissioners being foure Members of the House of *Commons*, accompanied with two Reverend Divines of the Assembly, went from *London* towards the latter end of *July*, 1643. and in the beginning of *August* came to *Edenburgh*, where they were expected before they came, and when they came, welcome.

The Commissioners upon their coming addresse themselves to the convention of *Estates* then sitting, as also to the generall Assembly, that they would contribute their help so farre as they were concerned; after few dayes a Covenant was propounded, and agreed on by the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to consider of that businesse with them, which was sent immediately into *England* for approbation, and re-

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ceived it with little or no materiall alteration, and was returned to *Scotland* in a short time, and so was generally taken in both Kingdomes; while this was in hand, a Treaty also was offered and debated, about bringing an Army for the assistance of the *Parliament of England*, which was also mutually agreed betwixt the Kingdomes, and is of late published.

After this foundation laid, though the time of year was something unseasonable for building upon it, being winter, the Estates of *Scotland* having received 50000 l. of the 100000 l. mentioned in the Treaty, bestowed their power and diligence in levying men, so that about the middle of *January*, an Army well cloathed and armed was brought to the Borders of *England*, which they entred about the twentieth of that moneth, at which time Lieutenant Generall *Lesley* passed over *Barwick* bridge with some Troopes of Horse; for the Towne of *Barwick*, by the care of the Commissioners of *Parliament* then in *Scotland*, who sent one of their owne number for that purpose, was happily made a Garrison for the *Parliament*; and after that, by Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes, assigned to the *Scotts* for a Magazine, and retreat, while there should be use of their Army in *England*.

A little after the entrance of those Horse and Foot, that came in by the way of *Barwick*, the Lieutenant Generall of Foot, *Baly*, passed the water at *Kelsy* by the advantage of a great Frost, which bore the Ordnance, and met the noble Generall the Earle of *Leven* about *Alnwick*.

The Enemy commanded by Sir *Thomas Glenham* made no opposition in *Northumberland*, but retreated from the borders to *Alnwick*, and so to *Morpeth*, and then to *New-Castle*; where the Earle of *New-Castle* met him with more Forces; so that the *Scottish* Army had a free passage to the workes and wals of *New-Castle*, which they came to about the beginning of *February*. At their approach after some slight Skirmishes of Horse, there was an attempt made upon a strong Fort at the East-side of the Towne, but without successe; a little after, it was thought fit to dispose the Army to some Quarters

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neare the Towne, on the North-side of the River *Tyne*. During the time of their lying there nothing of moment fell out, but the fight at *Corbridge*, where there was not much hurt done, but the *Scots* had the worse, losing some Prisoners, and retreating, yet not so hastily, but they tooke Collonel *Brandling* in their returne, who after that became a Profelyte; this was all that passed on the North-side *Tyne*, saving that the Castle of *Warkworth* was surrendred to the Marquesse of *Argyle*, who marched by the way of the Sea with some Forces to the Army, of which Castle he made one Captain *Lysle* Governour; after some time spent on the North-side *Trent*, the lying of the Army there was found uselesse, and inconvenient, and a resolution was taken towards the end of *February* to passe the *Tyne*, leaving onely some Forces at *Bedlington*, and *Blythesnooke*, to secure that little Harbour being very convenient for Provisions.

The Enemy at the passing over *Tyne* made no opposition, but were so kind as to let them march over *Newbridge*, a very inconvenient passage had it beene disputed, and so take possession of *Sunderland*, a place which proved full of advantages to the Army afterwards, in respect of provisions which were brought thither in great plenty from *London*, and other places, and exchanged for Coale. During the aboade of the Army about *Sunderland*, in the moneth of *March*, ending the yeare 1643. they fortified *Sunderland* as well as the place was capable, and tooke a strong Fort at *Southshields* over against *Tynmouth* Castle, at the second attempt; In the meane time the Enemies head Quarter was at *Durham*, where were the Earle of *New-Castle* Lieutenant Generall *King*, sir *Charles Lucas* (lately come from the South with a supply of Horse, and a very considerable Army;) they came and faced the *Scots* Army twice within two miles of *Sunderland*, first on the South side, then on the North-side the River *Wear*. At first we heard of nothing memorable, but very cold nights, in which the *Scots* Army had good advantage of the Kings, and made good use of it, for by keeping close to them many of the Enemies Horses were reported to be strayed, and their souldiers courage

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rage cooled; which was found true at their next appearance. Shortly after, when they drew up about *Hilton* and *Bowdon*, at which time also the *Scottish* Army was drawn out against them, but no ingagement of consequence, each Army kept its advantage, onely there was some slight skirmishing amongst the hedges, where for ought I ever heard, the number of the slaine was equall, or little different; but at last the Kings Army drew off, and being discerned so to doe by the *Scottish* Armaie, they fell upon their Reare and tooke some Prisoners, but killed very few, not the tenth part of the number mentioned in (*Truths manifest*) and so they parted. After this the *Scottish* Army not being well able to endure their straitnesse of Quarters, tooke a resolution to march towards the Enemy, and either fight with him, or enlarge their Quarters; about this my Lord *Fairefax* who had beene long confined to *Hull*, tooke the field againe, and with sir *Thomas Fairfax* (a Gentleman who must not be mentioned without Honour, for God hath honoured him) and sir *John Meldrum* (whose faithfulnessse to this cause and diligence in it was very eminent) made their first attempt upon *Selby*, where God was pleased to give them great and seasonable successe in storming, and taking that Towne, and in it a number equall to those that assaulted, notwithstanding the many Horse that were in it, where also was the Governour of *Torke*, Mr. *John Bellasis*, who was taken prisoner.

This businesse has hardly been paralleled since this Warre, save at *Wakefield*, when Generall *Goring* was taken in like manner by sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his party rather then Army.

New-Castle hearing this newes, and fearing lest *Torke* also (the receptacle of most of the Northerne Papists, who were not in Armes, whom he had most reason to respect) should be surprized or surrendred, thought best to move Southward with his Armaie, and did accordingly, and getting start of the *Scotts* Armaie, by a sudden march came to *Torke* about the middle of *Aprill*, and lodged the remainder of his Foot there, (for his Northerne expedition had lost him many men who
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were wearied out with the hardinesse of the *Scots*) and sent *ſir Charles Lucas* away Southward with his Horſe, which were followed by ſome *Scottiſh* and *Yorkſhire* Horſe, but not overtaken.

The *Scottiſh* Army followed Southward; and joined with the Forces under command of my Lord *Fairfax*, betwixt *Wetherby* and *Selby*, where after conſultation they draw neare to *Torke*, and if a ſufficient ſtrength could be made up by the acceſſion of the Earle of *Mancheſters* Forces, which was deſired and hoped, they reſolved to ſit downe before *Torke*, which was accordingly done; Generall *Leven* pitching his Quarter at *Middlethorp*, my Lord *Fairfax* at *Foulford*, and my Lord *Mancheſter* at *Heſlington*, the *Scots* Quarters kept in the Towne on the Weſt-ſide of the River, the Earle of *Mancheſter* and Lord *Fairfax* on the Eaſt-ſide; and to my Lord *Fairfax* his aſſiſtance, was ſent a very noble Gentleman and able Commander, *ſir James Lunſdaine*, with a Regiment or two of Foote, who lay at *Foulford*; the Horſe of all the Armies in the meane time were ſent towards the Weſt of *Yorkſhire*, which was the onely way the Enemy had to come, and interrupt the ſiege, the other wayes by the advantage of Rivers, being impaſſable upon oppoſition; this ſiege was carried on with very commendable unanimity, and correſpondency of Counſels on all ſides, each acting their part. The *Scots* tooke in a Fort on the South-ſide of the Town, attempted another neare the great Fort, but held it not, and had ſeverall ſkirmiſhes with the Enemies Horſe, in one of which they loſt a gallant Gentleman, Lieutenant Collonel *Ballantine*, who not content with a little honour, to gaine more loſt his life; my Lord *Mancheſters* men made their approaches very neare at *Bawden*, and *Monk-barres*, my Lord *Fairfax* his men at *Wolmſgate*, where they tooke a Church and divers priſoners in it, onely Major Generall *Crawford*, a valiant and forward man, made an unhappy attempt upon the Mannor Houſe, without due notice to the other Forces, and was beaten out with the loſſe of many men. After this ſiege had continued two moneths or thereabouts, towards the end of *June* Prince

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Prince *Rupert* comes to the reliefe of *Torke*, by the way of *Lancashire*, draining Garrisons and raising men with all diligence and severity, and thereto added an act of cruelty at *Boulton*. At this time upon the importunity of *Lancashire*, sir *John Meldrum* (after that by his conduct, the Castle of *Cawood*, and the strong Fort of *Airesmonth* were taken, which much advantaged our provisions from *Hull* by water) was sent with a Party thither to doe what service he had opportunity, howsoever to secure, if possible, the Town of *Manchester*, which had been yet inviolate for the *Parliament*, and accordingly did so. The Prince after he had strengthened himselfe what he could, drawes neare to *Torke* by the way of *Burrowbridge*, and comes upon the North-side of the River *Ouse*, whereupon the Armies resolve to joyne and fight him, and so the last of *June*, the siege was raised, the Towne in some measure relieved; but the Prince not satisfied with that he had done, would needs draw over the River againe, about three miles from *Torke* to fight our Forces, upon that side the River; in which he made a desperate attempt, and as I am informed, was so told by Lieutenant Generall *King*, in regard our Armie might fall upon him while he was passing the River. But he was resolved and gave command to the Earle of *New-Castle*, to draw his men out of *Torke* to his assistance; which was done, though not so soone as was expected, but soone enough to a bad bargain. Our united Armies were marching off, thinking to prevent the Princes march Southward, and were going towards *Tadcaster* on the day of the fight, thinking to crosse some nearer way, and meet him in his return: but he saved them that labour, and drew up in their Reare in a place called *Hessey-Moore*, neare *Long-Marston*, of which sir *Thomas Fairfax* (having the Reare) gave speedie notice, and Orders were presently given to face about to the Enemy, which was accordingly done; and the Princes Army being drawne up in the *Moore*, our Armies drew up into the fields adjoyning, and so much of the heath as was left them; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* commanded the right wing, consisting of his owne Horse, and some from *Lancashire*, Lieutenant Generall

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Cromwell the left wing; the *Scots* Horſe were equally divided, three Regiments on the right wing, and three on the left: on which wing alſo was there then Generall Major *David Leſley*. My Lord *Mancheſters* Foote were drawne on the left Wing next the Horſe, and the *Scots* Foote and my Lord *Fairefaxes* in the body, and right wing; the Battaille began about ſix or ſeven of the clock in the evening, *July* the 2. The right Wing commanded by ſir *Thomas Fairfax* was diſordered, for he had among other diſadvantages theſe two eſpecially; firſt, the worſt part of the ground being ſo full of Whinnes as that his Horſe could not march up, and was next the hedges poſſeſſed by the Enemy. Secondly, he had alſo many new raiſed Horſe which had never ſeene ſervice, who did not play the part of Reſerves as became them, ſo that after his owne Regiment and Collonel *Lamberts* had charged, with valour and good ſucceſſe, for want of ſupplies that wing was wholly routed, himſelfe ſtayed in the field, where he received a marke of Honour on his face; the *Scots* Horſe alſo on that ſide quit the field, and left the Earl of *Lyndeſeys* Regiment of Foot ſtanding bare, which yet acquitted it ſelfe well, for ſir *Charles Lucas* coming up with Horſe to charge them, his owne Horſe was ſhot in the head of his Regiment, and he was taken Priſoner.

But, whileſt this was doing on the right, our friends on the left wing ſped very well (through Gods mercy) and wholly routed the Enemy, and came about to the right, and at laſt cleared the field, became Maſters of the Enemies Carriages and Artillery, and left more dead bodies then hath been at any Battell ſince theſe warres began, and had ſlaine more, but that the ſhelter of night, and a neare Garrifon hindred purſuit. The lot of the body of Foot, eſpecially of *Scots* and my Lord *Fairefaxes*, was ſo promiſcuous, ſome ſtanding, ſome flying, that I can give no perfect accompt of it. As for the Paſſage in *Truth its manifeſt* concerning Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, and their Lieutenant Generall *Leſley*, I ſhould be loth to meddle in it, and wiſh the Author of the *Manifeſt* had not, but ſomething muſt be ſaid in the Animadverſions.

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Thus was God pleased to use the *Scots Army* in doing its part to the breaking of the strong Army of the North, and the defeating of the Prince, who brought into the field that day an Army very strong and well accomplisht. *Quem dies vidit veniens superbum, Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.* If any will make a further enquiry, and say who did best, I could wish I might be put to no other answer then (*God did all;*) which is the best way to decide Controversies of this kinde; for no man loses when He gaines honour.

After this happy Victory, the discouraged Enemy take severall courses, Prince *Rupert* with his Retinue (for his Army was gone) marched on Northward to *Allerton*, and so by *Richmond* back againe the way that he came. The Earle of *Newcastle* with his deare Confidents, *Widrington* and *Carnaby*, went to *Scarborough*, and so beyond Sea; and with them Lievtenant Generall *King*. The Government of *Yorke* by this meanes was devolved upon Sir *Thomas Glenham*, who still undertakes desperate cures.

Our own Forces, after the Generalls had time to meete, and the confusion of the fight (which lasts longer then the time of it) was over, and our wounded men provided for, fall to work againe, and the Fight being on Tuesday July 2. on Thursday or Friday following a Party of Horse were sent under the Command of *Lesley* and *Cromwell* to follow the Enemy, but they were first gotten into the *Dales*, and became almost incapable of annoyance. The body of the Army returned to the Siege of *Yorke*, which about a fortnight after was surrendred to the Parliament upon Treaty betwixt Commissioners on both parts. And thus was God pleased to blesse these united Forces with a Victory and City, in which the *Scots* as they had their part of pains and hazard, so deserve their proportionable share of thanks and honour.

After this my Lord *Manchester* marched away towards *Lincolne*, his Forces taking some Castles in *Yorkshire* by the way, as *Sheffield*, and *Tiekbill*. The Lord *Fairfax* remained in *Yorke*, and disposed his Forces to the blocking up of some Castles in *Yorkshire*. The *Scots Army* marched Northward againe.

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And that I may not omit any thing concerning that Army, while Generall Leven was imployed in these services about *Yorke*, the Northerne parts, and that part of the *Scots Army* left behind, passed some danger and hardship in *Northumberland*. *Morpeth Castle*, held by Lieutenant Collonel *Somervill*, was delivered up with the provisions and goods in it to Collonel *Clauering*. And the Fort at *South-Shields*, though not gotten *sine sanguine*, was lost *sine sudore*, upon a bare Summons from *Montrosse* and *Clauering*.

At this time also *Sunderland* was faced and outfaced by the mentioned Cavaliers, who came to *Bishops Weymouth*, and plundered some of their victualls, but the Towne was preserved, where amongst others the *English Sea-men* being much concerned (for their ships were then in the harbour) well acquitted themselves. But the Earle of *Callander* then coming into *England* with an additionall Force; among whom the Lord *Sinclare*, *Montgomery*, and *Levingston*, dispelled these mysts, and before the returne of the *Scots Army* tooke in *Hartlepool* and *Stockton* upon surrender, and placed Garrisons in them as seemed best to him; and a little before the returne of the noble Earle of *Leven* from *Yorkshire*, he had entred *Gateshead*, a Town of the South-side of *Newcastle*, parted from it onely by the River, by which means the Town of *Newcastle* was wholly blockaded up on the South-side.

After the returne of the Generall, a Bridge was made over the *Tyne*, and he disposed his Army on the Northside, and approached close to the Towne with his Foote, the Horse being sent Westward towards *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*. During this Siege, which continued above two Moneths, the Enemy made frequent and sharpe Sallies, and the Generall frequent and faire offers, to which the upstart Knight *Marley* returned very peremptory and sometimes abusive answers, which were reckoned for at last; if they be not, they may be. But at length after much diligence and patience, the Generall and the Commanders then resident with the Army, resolved upon a Storm, and to that end prepared Mines and Batteries, and upon October 19th fell on at severall parts of the Towne, at the breach

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made by Cannon there was no entrance, and the most losse on the *Scots* part was there, but the Mines taking well, especially one at *White-Friers Tower*, they entred, and both to our and their benefit tooke that strong and rich Towne. Sir *John Murray* the Governour, with the Scottish Earl of *Craford*, and others, retreated to the Castle, expecting thence to make their termes, but could get none but those of mercy, which considering the persons, was too good for them, though lesse could not be granted. After the entrance there was little blood shed, but the common Souldier betooke himselfe to what he could, the Officer almost to what he would. For herein the *Scots* are more orderly then the *English*. Among our Armies commonly the Souldier gets the greatest share of the spoile, the Officers generally being not so earnest at the prey; and the *English* Souldiers are not so easily commanded as the *Scots* in such a case. For the *Scots* Souldiers will very orderly stand Sentinell at the dore they are appointed to, and for some small matter preserve a house with its appurtenances for their Commanders, so that the Towne was not (especially the best houses) spoiled *in specie*, but onely purged by a composition, which was fortuitous, according as the nature of the Chapmen was, some good bargaines, some ill. And thus was *Newcastle* reduced, which (to speake as much truth as the *Manifest*) was a very remarkable service, being the onely thing of moment wherein that Army hath been engaged apart from other Forces in *England* these two yeares. And to make this good successe compleat, that the Passage from the Coale-Indies might be cleare, *Tynmouth Castle*, Commanded by Sir *Thomas Riddell*, out of a sympathy betwixt the Towne-Clerke and the Major of *Newcastle*, was surrendred upon Articles, and Garrisons placed in both Towne and Castle, by order of the *Scots* Commanders and Generall.

After these places thus taken, and in this manner settled, and the businesse of Fines & Compositions at *Newcastle* dispatched, it was time to dispose the *Scots* Army (which had been most of the precedent Winter in the fields) to their Winter Quarters. To that purpose two or three Regiments of Horse, and a Regi-

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ment of Dragoones were allotted to abide in *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*; three Regiments of Horse sent into the *North-Riding of Yorkshire*; *Northumberland* and *Bishopricke of Durham*, were appointed to the Foote, and some odde Troops of Horse. The Horse in *Cumberland* had by this time made some entrance upon the Siege of *Carlile*; Sir *Wilfrid Lawson*, and others *Cumberland-men* being joyned with them, who had raised both Horse and Foote for that service; of which more in the *Animadversions*.

After the Army thus was disposed of, the Committee also and the Generall disposed themselves into *Scotland*, and left our *English* Commanders and the Souldiers to dispute matters of Assessement and Provision, *Impar Congressus*. During this time of Winter I have not heard any thing of service from that Army, onely that some Foote were sent to the assistance of Sir *John Meldrum* at the Siege of *Scarborough-Castle*; and some also were sent to *Pontfract*, but had not libertie to stay the end of these works, in regard of other employment. So that wee have free leave to passe on to the Spring; at which time the *Scottish* Committee for the Army after the dispatch of their own affaires in Parliament and Assembly returned. The Generall himselfe being come before into *England* toward the end of *January*.

In the second yeares service, the first thing that offers it selfe was Lieutenent Generall *Lesleys* going with a Party of Horse and Foote to the assistance of Sir *William Brereton*, who was then besieging *Beefton-Castle*, and intending *Chester*, but hearing that Prince *Rupert* was drawing towards him with a considerable force, sent to the Committee of both Kingdomes at *Westmorland* for ayd, who desired that Lieutenent Generall *Lesley* might goe with a Party of Horse to his assistance; which accordingly was done. A Party of *Yorkshire* Horse being also joyned with him; but of that conjunction wee had no further newes or fruit, but that the Enemy came not far enough to fight us; and our Forces stood upon the defensive. Whereupon the Lieutenent Generall shortly after returned into the *West-Riding of Yorkshire* about *Hallifax*, where he remained for a space.

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About this time the Parliament finding ground to new-mould the severall Armies under the Command of the Earle of Essex and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Walter*, (a course of equall hazard and necessity) which God hath since blessed with successe to admiration; into one body, under the Command of the valiant and victorious Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; by this means, and especially by the forwardnesse and opposition of some, who made it their great businesse to crosse this worke, (so little did they value the publique good in respect of their owne conceits, wills, and interests) it came to passe that we lost some ground in the start at the Spring, but through mens diligence, and Gods blessing, it was quickly recovered. About this time (I say) the Parliament sent to the *Scots* Army and their Committee, that they would hasten the advance of that Army Southward with all possible speed, in regard that this change and opposition had brought their affaires into some distraction; And to enable and encourage them for their March, sent them 30000. li. And accordingly about the time that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, upon order from the Committee of both Kingdomes, marched from *Windsor* westward with a piece of an Army, which was the first of *May*; the *Scots* Army came to *Rippon* in *Yorkshire*, where there were severall debates betwixt their Committee and our Commanders, about matter of Provisions, the *English* Commanders still pressing the necessity of Marching Southward (the King having drawne his Army into the field) and promising all possible care for accommodation; But in the midst of these disputes, the King drawing Northward, and the *Scots* having intelligence out of *Cheshire* of the Kings intendment, to send a flying Army over the Hills through *Lancashire* into *Scotland*: The debate about marching Southwards, and making Provisions for it, was turned into a dispute which was the best way into *Lancashire*; for the journey was resolved by the *Scots*. The *English* Commissioners told them, if they must goe, the neereft way & passable enough, was the way that Prince *Rupert* marched from *Lancashire* to the reliefe of *Yorke*, which was by *Skeppon*; but they chose rather to goe about by the way of *Stainmore* (commonly called

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in those parts, *The Devils Gallery*, for the uncouthnesse of it) into *Westmerland*, which had a little before resisted : some *Scottish* Officers requiring Contribution (as they say) beyond their power, and beside the Parliaments authority. There they stay'd some time, but the flying Army being not to be found or heard of, the *Scots* march back againe the same way to *Rippon* about the beginning of *June*.

First, having sent some more commanded men to *Carlisle*, which was shortly after reduced by the joyned Forces, *Scots* and *English*, which I onely mention now left in the Narrative I should be thought fit to omit an action of moment, but reserve the story of it to another place, at which time the *Parliament* sent downe two of their owne Members, to waite on the *Scots Army*, and hasten their march Southwards, who accompanied the Army to *Nottingham*, and from thence the chiefe Officers of the *Scots Army* sent a Letter to the *Parliament*, which the Author of *Trumb's manifest* thinks fitter to print, though neither they that writ it, nor they that received it, judged meet to doe. Within two dayes after the date of the Letter, it pleased God to honour the Army under the Command of *sir Thomas Fairfax*, and blesse these Kingdomes with an eminent, and seasonable victory over the Royall Army at *Nazeby*, which was a happy foundation of the recovery of *Leicester* within three dayes after, and many other successes, wherewith God hath followed their valour and diligence to this day. By this meanes the heat of the Warre was over for that yeare, especially in these parts, the King having no field Forces left, but those under the Command of *Goring* in the West. After this the *Scots Army* with all readinesse march Southward through *Warwickshire*, *Worstershire*, and so towards *Hereford*, whither some Commissioners were sent from *Parliament* to joyne Counsels and endeavours with them ; a field Enemy not appearing they resolve to besiege *Hereford*, the reducing which place was thought very necessary for the prevention of the Kings recruits commonly fetch't from those parts. The siege went on hopefully, Mines and Batteries were prepared, and the taking of the City
(which

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(which never was accounted very strong) continually expected : but in the meane time, it pleased God to suffer *Montrosse* with his wicked crue to give our Brethren in *Scotland* a sad overthrow (I am sure all good people had reason to accompt, it so) at *Kylsyth*, where many good men were lost , and the Forces of that Kingdome almost totally dissipated ; which occasioned the recourse of many eminent persons to *Barwick*, and discovered a more generall malignancy in *Scotland*, then was expected. The newes of this coming to the Army, after some consultation had, they raised their siege, to which they were induced, as by the condition of their owne Country, so by the report , of the Kings coming towards them with a strength of Horse, which might endanger them , they having sent Lieutenant generall *Lesley* away towards the North, where he stayed with respect to *Scotland*, as also to interrupt the Kings intentions Northward, whither he most applyed himselfe. When sir *Thomas Fairfax* was gone Westward with his Army, it was expected, that the Partie with Lieutenant Generall *Lesley*, and the *English* with him should have pursued, or fallen upon the Enemie at that time , but the King marching Southward towards *Huntington*, and the *Scottish* Horse being bound Northward, it could not be.

At this time, the necessities of *Scotland* so requiring, the Lieutenant Generall marched into *Scotland*, where suddenly after his arrivall, he happily falls upon *Montrosse* now divided from *Kilkerro*, and not looking for him so soone, and obtaines a happy victory over him, and seasonably (through Gods mercy) alters the face of things in *Scotland*. This newes meets the *Scottish* Armie (marching Northwards) in *Yorkshire*, and staies their journey further, and gives them libertie to repose in the North and West ridings of that County, which by the calamitie of these Warres are now almost wasted, and will be brought either to utter ruine, or some dangerous way of preventing it, unlesse the *Parliament* afford timely reliefe. While the Army was quartering here, the Lord *Digby* comes with a Party of Horse, as is said, for *Scotland*, he surprizes the *English* Foot, quartered at *Sherburne*, but by the
seasonable

seasonable pursuit of Collonel Copley and Collonel Lilburne was defeated, lost his booty and his baggage, with divers Letters of moment into the bargain; and was forced to take a hilly way to *Cumberland*, where sir *John Browne* got an advantage of him as his remnant was passing over a water, where the tyde hindered one part from the reliefe of the other; and so he was forced to the *Isle of Man*, and thence hath betaken himselfe into *Ireland*, from whence we daily heare from him.

This passage concerning my Lord Digby (though his greatest blow was by the *Yorkeshire Forces*) I thought fit to insert that I might not omit that action of sir *John Browne*, which the *Parliament* was pleas'd to take notice of. After the *Scottish Army* had lyen sometime in *Yorkeshire*, about November, at the desire of the *Parliament*, and the Committee of both Kingdomes, they marched to block up *Newarke* on the North-side, where they had possession given them of *Muskhams Bridge* (which the Enemy had intended to burne, but did it not) and the Fort in the Island that commands it, which makes their worke on the North-side *Trent* very easie, in regard the Towne, Forts, and Castle stand on the South-side the River. Since their blocking up *Newarke* there hath not beene much of action; once the Enemy by the advantage of the Ice fell into their Quarters, killed the Adjutant Generall of Foot, but received as well as did hurts: since that the Enemy made a sally upon the *Scots*, who were making a Fort in the Island, but after some little losse on each part, were very well repelled and beaten in. And let me not forget the readinesse of the Lieutenant Generall, to send some Foot to Collonel *Poyntz*, for the strengthening his Quarters at *Stoke*. And so have we followed the *Scots Army*, consisting now of about seven or eight thousand Horse and Foote, most Horse, (according to a Muster lately taken by the *English Commissioners*) to the siege of *Newarke*, where also is a Committee of Lords, and Commons from the *Parliament*, contributing their best assistance to the carrying on the Service against *Newarke*, who have above these three moneths expected a

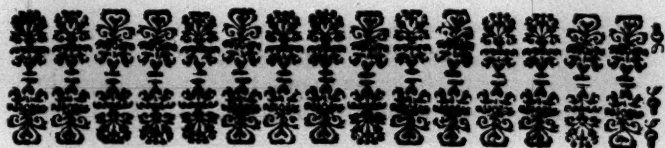
Committee

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Committee from Scotland, to joyne with them according to the Treaty, but they are not yet come; It is hoped (notwithstanding) that there shall be such mutuall care and concurrence betwixt the Forces, as that strong Garrison shall in due time be reduced to the great advantage of the North, and happinesse of the whole Kingdome, which is very much concerned in the successe of it.

And thus have you a true Narrative of the entrance, and proceedings of the *Scottish Army* since it came into *England*, where I have not willingly, nor (I hope) negligently omitted any thing materiall; more circumstances might have been brought in to attend the substance of this discourse, but many of them being not acceptable, it was thought best to omit them, or at least referre them to the second part, which containes Animadversions upon some passages of the *Manifest*, and other Papers printed to the disadvantage of Truth, and reflecting upon the *Parliament of England*.

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IRST, the whole Booke and the printing of it, to me, deserves an Animadversion. Who is this man that makes so bold an adventure, to intermeddle in things of highest consequence, betwixt the two Kingdomes, their *Parliaments* and Armies; which their Wisdome and tendernesse made them forbear? Me think^s their silence might have prompted reverence to the Author. He calls indeed his booke *An Answer*, pag. 4. and alledges Scripture for it; but to whom is it *An Answer*? none had put pen to paper in this businesse, it came not into the thought of any wise man to meddle, and the very Diurnals which bespatter every body, were very modest, as to the *Scots* and their Army. Therefore is the Gentleman constrained for want of work to make himselfe an Adversary, which he calls by the name of *Sinistrous Reports* in the second line of his Relation. Had it not been better to have suffered these Reports to have vanished in the ayre, then to give them the advantage of an Eccho? I feare lest the work prove unprofitable, as unnecessary works use to doe; forward vindications sometimes occasion untoward Questions, and controverted things have sometimes more advantage by silence then debate. But *well meaning men* (as they are styled) *must be undeceived*; Let that

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be put to the issue whether so, or rather whether those that have been before deceived by Reports, be not now coufined in Print. If it be found so, it is a double fault, the fallshood in the Booke is one, *Truth* in the title another,

————— *Per amici fallere nomen*
Tuta frequensq; via est, sed via crimen habet.

But to the particulars

The first thing is his Animadversions upon the Commissioners of *Scotland*, for not being so popular in their applications, and satisfactions to the multitude as he thinks fit; In which, notice may be taken of his expressions and of his charge; the expressions to mee seeme disproportionable to the honour, and employment of so Honourable and worthy persons. He tells them, pag. 3, *That he cannot esteeme their prudence in this.* Pag. 4. *You have mistaken the right way first,* ibid. *you are hugely mistaken.* Pag. 11. *He chargeth them with being meale-maul'd, and with remissnesse,* and concludes with his Magisteriall hopes, pag. 13. *that being freely admonished, they will mend this slip: and addes a resolution, that till the Commissioners did the thing he advises, he would take a Commission from himselfe to doe it.* To al which I say no more then, *indignus tu qui diceret tamen.* For the charge I may adde, *neque hoc opprobrio digni sunt.* Men in trust and Authority should take care that the People may rather have the advantage, then the knowledge of their proceedings. Things that are to be done by them are necessarily to be made knowne to them, and to satisfie them in their obedience, the ground of the command, or something shewing the Equity and necessity of it, is usually premitted, as is done in the preamble of Acts, Ordmances and Declarations. But to make knowne the debates, and those humane passions incident thereunto, it were sometimes to discover nakednesse where it ought not, to minister strifes, to make the people Judges of them whom they have made so. I have heard that the custome of *Scotland* is otherwise, where there is a diligent eye had to the Presse (which is not as here (which is one of our faults) prostitute to the lust of every Pamphlet) and

and a reverend reservedness kept upon their Counsels and actions : onely so farre as the people are concerned in obeying, things are carefully made knowne to them, and difficulties removed. And certainly, those that are reserved at home, will not judge it meet to be very open elsewhere: for though the Proverb is not strictly to be applyed, yet it carries a generall equity and decency; *In alienam domum cum veneris murus & surdus esto.*

The Gentleman makes some Objections which he answers, he that hides can finde, but unawares ties some knots which he cannot easily undoe. For instance his second Objection, in the Answer to which he affirmes, *that the Commissioners of Scotland doe not sufficiently discharge their duty, in making knowne to the Parliament and Assembly to the full, the truth of all things by their papers*, which he proves by an assertion, which for want of other strength he doubles, *that what is de facto concerning all, must be made knowne to all.* The sounder axiome were, what concerns all to know must be made knowne to all, for otherwise who will deny, but the people are concerned in Counsels, Deliberations, and conclusions of things to be done, they being the subject and end of them, and yet this Author grants, that these things are to be made knowne to the Trustees of State? But I have no mind to wrangle. Let us see the strength of the Argument, which is this. The Trustees of the State and Church are not Lords of them, but servants: therefore the Commissioners of the *Parliament of Scotland* are to impart to the people of *England* their papers, and proceedings. This conclusion seemes to me larger then the Premises, and like to have the lot of a building wider then the foundation; the true inference from the Antecedent is rather this. Therefore the Commissioners of *Scotland*, as good servants, should give an accompt to them, that intrust them so farre, as is expected or required. But shew me where the people of *England* conferred that trust upon the Commissioners from *Scotland*, or where they required any accompt; Doubtlesse those Honourable Persons doe give accompt, and satisfaction to them, from whom they received

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their Commission and trust, and need not doe it to any other.

And though that expression of servants, as opposed to a Lordly usurpation, is good as to the thing, yet the word seemes to give too specious a ground for such a corrupt inference as this; If the Rulers be servants, the people are Masters; whereas the truth is, the Magistrate serves the good of the people rather than the people, as the Apostle expresseth it, *Rom. 13.* They are the Ministers of God to the people for good. Ministers or servants of God, that is their *appellation*, to the peoples good, that is their *use*. Thus the Angels serve the Saints, who are yet lower then the Angels, and Pastours the people, whom yet they rule over in the Lord. Me thinks those that hate Independency in the Church, should not affect popularity in the State, but any thing for a turne. But let me leave this Rule with my friends and Country-men, that though it be fit that all exorbitant usurpation, and arbitrary dominion of Rulers have a seasonable stop, lest publike Liberty suffer, yet must it be done without debasing those in authority, whose honour and esteeme with the people, is necessary to the order and conservation of the whole; alwayes provided, that this tender regard need not be had to any of what place soever, that are in open hostility against the people, who make no other use of their power and Reputation, then to deceive, and destroy the people; of which our instance is too neare.

As for the freedome of *John Knox*, and *George Buchanan* mentioned pag. 12. I could well consent it were revived, so it be rightly bestowed, as by them it was, *sc.* against the Popery of the then Queen, and the self-interests of great men in publick works, and against tyranny in Princes: King *Charles* deserves a severer Schoolemaster then ever King *James* had.

Secondly, after this expostulation with the Commissioners ending pag. 14. the *Narration* begins, in which the Author layes open in the first place, the carriage of things betwixt the *Scots*, and the King at their first entrance, which I meddle not with,

with, onely give this note on the behalfe of *England*, that whatsoever was then done (as is alleadged) contrary to justice and Faith, must not be set in the least degree upon the accompt of this Kingdome, whose proper Representative is the *Parliament*, who disclaimed the whole businesse, it was the work of the King, not the Kingdome, of the Faction, not the Nation. But I rest in the thoughts of the Act of pacification.

Thirdly, the next thing to be insisted on, is of more consequence, and will require a full clearing, which is found at the 18. pag. *sc. The Scots under God, are the cause of assembling the Parliament, of the continuance of it, and of the preservation of it from totall destruction and ruine.* And to this purpose, there are divers passages, which I think fittest to summe up together, and give them some dilucidation rather then opposition. Another expression of this kind is, pag. 94. *The Scots were in a kinde the onely hinderers of the Kings compassing his designe.* pag. 99. 100. *For whom they have hazarded, and many lost their lives, when they might all this while have sate at home quietly.* pag. 112. *They make our quarrell theirs, have undergone the burthen for our sakes, to free us from it. They are become miserable to pull us out of misery, a thing not to be parallel'd.* Pag. 114. *They have crucified themselves for their Brethren.* Pag. 142. *Who have ventured, yea, lost themselves in a manner, with all that is deare unto men, for their sakes, to doe them a double good, to help them out of trouble, and settle a Reformation among them.*

God forbid, that I should be one of those ingrate children, mentioned and cryed out on by this Author. It is farre from my thought or purpose, to deny, or to diminish the kindnesse of our brethren, whose help was desired and was seasonable, but let us understand our selves, and how the matter stands betwixt these two Kingdomes. We are indebted to *Scotland*, I with an even reckning, and long friendship, but I am not yet of opinion we owe our selves to them: and if the Author of the *Manifest* be consulted, you shall find an intimation of some other Obligations then meere kindnesse unto us. As for instance, pag. 24. It is said, that the *Scots* (when they began to
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interesse themselves in this businesse,) they could not in Conscience, and honesty sit quiet any longer, and neither say nor doe: but I take no advantage of this, we are beholding to men for doing what in conscience and honesty they are bound, though they should hurt themselves more in violating Conscience and honour, then in suffering us to be violated. To this you shall find a more externall ground added, pag. 28. viz. Now the State of Scotland, seeing the common Enemy come to that height, that nothing will satisfie him, but totall subversion of Church and State, in these Dominions, onely they perhaps, might be kept for the last, though in intention they had been the first, judge it not enough for their interest in the common cause, to keepe an Army in Ireland, but to bee upon their Guard at home, and to help their Brethren in England with the Sword, since all other meanes so often tryed were disappointed by the malice of the Enemies: And this resolution is said to have been taken, before Commissioners were sent from England to desire their assistance, Pag. 30. So that you may observe the Enemy was a common Enemy, the Cause a common Cause, the danger to these Dominions; the Scots like to suffer as deep, though not so soone, if they had fate still. But give me leave, paulo alius repetere, and to consider the ancient mutuall eyes, and later friendships betwixt these Kingdomes, which may be a good meanes to continue, and confirme their present correspondence.

So long as these Kingdomes were under divers (especially popish) Princes, their condition was like that of Israel, 2. Chron. 15. 3. when it was without a true God, without a teaching Priest, and without Law. At which time, there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countreies; and Nation was destroyed of Nation, and City of City. The mutuall spoiles and losses of these neighbour Kingdomes, being well considered by that wise Prince Henry the seventh, he layes a probable foundation of conjunction, in giving his eldest Daughter to the King of Scots, whose posterity upon the failing of the issue of his Sonne, Henry the eight, might inherit both Kingdomes, which hath since come to passe. In the
time

time of *Edward* the sixth, it was thought fit by that Prince (whose wisdom and vertue was beyond his yeares) and his Councell, to make the conjunction more sure, and therefore agreed with the Kingdom of *Scotland* for a Match betwixt this young King, and the Daughter of *James* the fifth, afterward Queen of *France* and *Scotland*. But the Politicians of those times in *Scotland* chose rather to marry their young Princessse to *France* then *England*; it may be, forecasting, upon the faile of issue in *Henry* the eighths children, that it would be more for their advantage to have a *Scottish*-man or a *French*-man King of *England*, then an *English*-man of *Scotland*, though (if I may speake it without offence) I think they might have had more comfort in that young Prince *Edward* 6. had God continued his life and reigne, then *England* hath had of the two Kings they have had from *Scotland*; of whom *Truths Manifest* sayes; *That there hath been more Christian blood shed in these latter yeares, under the end of King James his and King Charles his Reignes, by their Commissions, Approbations, Connivences, and not forbidding what at home, and what abroad, all which upon the matter, they might have stopped, if it had been their pleasure, then were in the time of the ten Romane Persecutions.* Pag. 23.

But although the *English* had received some disingagement by the non-performance of that Match, which was aggravated on both parts by a Fight at *Musselborough*-field; yet when the *Scots* were sore troubled, and their Religion & Liberty indangered by the said Queene, returned from *France* into *Scotland*, who called the *French* in to her assistance against her native Subjects; the renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, and her prudent Councell, though this Kingdome had continuall watre with *Spaine*, yet feared not to provoke the *French*, by affording seasonable helpe to her distressed Neighbours, sending to their reliefe 6000 men, which were maintained at the charge of the Kingdome of *England*; Which was then thankfully and justly called to minde by the Kingdome of *Scotland* when this last treaty was to be made. So that if we breake off here, the kindness rests not on our part. But I shall as gladly proceed to repeat the good turnes done to this Kingdome, as by it, and rejoyce

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joyce in the mutuall obligation. And that I may not breake in too suddenly upon the late affaires of these Kingdomes, give me leave as a manuduction thereto to give a brieve touch of the Method of Reformation in this Island, and but a word, for the body of the Story may be had elsewhere. It pleased God at the bringing of this Island out of Popery, to honour *Scotland* with a more full departure from Romish Idolatry and Superstition, for though *England* wholly renounced their Doctrine, yet some dregges of discipline and superstitious Ceremonies remained.

The *Scots* had indeed some advantages that wee had not; Their *Queene* was obnoxious, their young King in his non-age, they had some Nobles and Ministers zealous and well affected, so that through Gods blessing they obtained a Reformation in that point, though not with so little difficulty as should give them ground to expect it should be done here on a suddaine. But as for *England*, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, shee had so much trouble for *Holland*, with *Spaine*, and in *Ireland*, that her Councell thought not fit to adventure upon the trouble of an alteration in this point, which they foresaw, and wee finde to be great. And besides, many of our Reformers being Bishops, could not so well understand the convenience of their own abolishment. In King *James* his time, though wee might have expected to have been better, in regard he came from a reformed Kingdome, yet it was far worse with us, for he came with an innate bitternesse against Puritanes, which was fomented by our *English* Bishops, so that he became a great Persecutor of unconformity; And according to the Proverb, *Seldome comes a better*, since the Reigne of this King, especially since the preferment of the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it hath been much worse with us, for in stead of reforming, we were deforming, and, in stead of renouncing, returning to *Rome* apace.

But all this while *England* wanted not its honour in the eyes of God and good men; For God favoured it with men eminent in learning, able and earnest assertors of the Doctrine of the Gospel, against the Champions of *Rome*, *Bellarmino* and his Fellowes, such were *Whitaker*, *Reynolds*, *Jewel*, *Fulke*, *Per-*
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kings, &c. with more practick Preachers and Writers, and a greater measure of the Power of Godlines, then other reformed Churches. Thus we see, *Non omnis fert omnia tellus*. *Scotland* had its advantages, and so had *England*, that neither they without us, nor wee without them might be made perfect, but that we might contribute to the reformation of each other, and both to our neighbours.

You will pardon this digression, I returne. After King *James* had outgrown his tutors, hankered after *Spaine*, and was come into *England*, He went about to pull downe what was built in *Scotland* for matter of discipline, and interrupted the Liberty of the Assemblies, as at *Pertb* more especially, though his nature was to accomplish his designs rather by artifice then by violence; King *Charles* succeeds him in his Crowne and intention, but drives more furiously then his Father, and ventures the overturning all; and so am I come to the late troubles of *Scotland*, about the yeare 1638. At which time both Kingdomes had Bishops, but *Scotland* first cast them off, to which they had these advantages. First, their naturall Antipathy against Episcopacy, which is generally remarkable in that Nation. Secondly, the absence of the King, who was not there to countenance them with his presence, and support them with his interest and authority, as here. It is no small advantage to have an absent King. A King prevents the Factions of an Aristocracy: His absence takes away the Enormities of a Court, and the advantages to Tyranny. And as they had more advantage, so had they more reason to begin; They had a Service-book put upon them against Law, more corrupt then ours, which was established by a Law then in force. Their worke was but to assert their Rights against innovation, ours to enlarge our Reformation, and adde something *de novo*, which is a much harder and a more questionable worke. But however it was very happy for them and us, that they had such an opportunitie, & hearts to use it as they did, in standing in the breach like to be made upon the Religion and Liberties of both Kingdomes. To come yet nearer, This dispute betwixt the King and his Party on the one side, the Lords and Ministers of *Scotland* on the other,

growes to blowes, and Armies are prepared on each hand. How stood the affection of the Commonaltie of *England* in this Cause? How backward were they to raise men, to pay money? the Souldiers that were raised in many places fell to pulling downe Altars, breaking Images, as a worke which pleased them better then to goe against *Scotland* in that Cause. And whilst some were preparing to fight against them, many were actually stirring and wrastring with God for them in prayers; Such was the affection they bore to that Cause and Kingdome.

And when the Parliament was called, to which God made the *Scottish* broyles an advantage, (though the affaires of *England* could not long have stood in that temper they were in) how tender were they of contributing any thing to the warre against them, and chose rather to adventure their own dissolution then a breach with them. And when they were the second time convened, even to this present Parliament, how readily did they gratifie their brethren with a competent sum called *brotherly assistance*, to be paid by this *Kingdome* for the injuries done by a *Faction* in it? And this carriage of the Parliament is acknowledged to be worthy, and obliging by the Convention of the Estates of *Scotland*, in their Declaration premitted at their Entrance. So that hitherto wee were not behind-hand with them. It remaines then that this great obligation must arise from the present conjunction. But if we consider the grounds, the termes, and issue, it may appeare not to be extraordinary. As for the grounds, if this Author in his 28. *Pag.* already mentioned, be not authenticke, let me alledge those that are; *sc.* the Convention in the short Declaration premitted at their comming into this *Kingdome* in *January* 1643. Where beside and before the Law of Love requiring us to beare each others burthen, you may finde a Law of Nature mentioned, injoyning them to preserve themselves by preventing their neighbours ruine. It is indeed a kindnesse for a man to helpe to quench a fire in his neighbours house, though his own be next; but if his house had not been so neare, it may be the man had been further off. So that it was not a sole respect

to us that brought them, for that is no Fiction, though it be Poetry, *Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet*. So much for the Ground. The termes were as betwixt Strangers and Mercenaries, though we love and embrace the title of brethren, as appears by the Treaty, wherein it is required and agreed that *England* be at the whole charge of paying this Army, (the termes upon which they serve *France* and *Holland*) and expected that this Kingdome be responfable for incident charges and losses. What could be further asked? And looke to the issue, if God grant it, when this Kingdome will be found to have afforded all the charge and most of the force for the preservation of *England* and *Ireland* directly, and *Scotland* as really, though by consequence; for *prius* and *posterius* makes no great difference, which was the case as this Author acknowledgeth, *Pag.* 28.

And thus have I given accompt of the true state as neare as I could learne it of the Obligations betwixt these two Kingdomes, which afford this Result; *That wee should love one another*. As for the particular words which occasioned this discourse, which are three times repeated in the *Manifest*, *sc.* that the *Scots* were the cause of calling, continuing, preserving from ruine this present Parliament, let me say thus much to them. As for the calling it, they were the occasion, but not the cause. As for the continuance of it, this is the account, Wee feeling the smart of broken Parliaments, as also our debts and necessities calling for money, it could not be borrowed but upon publique Faith, this was not to be given but in Parliament; whereupon a noble Gentleman, M^r *Pierrepoint* by name, (who was not then much acquainted with the *Scots*) moved upon those grounds for an act of continuance of this Parliament, and it passed. As for the preservation of it from ruine, this Clause following immediately upon the Authors discourse of the *Scots* refusing the Kings offers which he made them of the foure Northerne Counties, &c. if they would lend their hand to the Parliaments ruine, induceth me to beleeeve, he meanes that *not destruction* for preservation. But doe not the Publicanes so? Could they doe lesse then forbear the attempt of ruining that

Parliament which had been so carefull to hinder all means of furthering the wrong or ruine of *Scotland*. I know not what kindnesse it was not to doe it, I am sure it had been barbarous cruelty and injustice to have done it ; but if the Gentleman meane they were the cause of our preservation positively, by affording their seasonable helpe, it is acknowledged upon the Grounds and Termes already mentioned, *sc.* their own preservation as well as ours, and full satisfaction.

The *Manifest* proceeds in declaring the readinesse of the *Scots* for the helpe of *Ireland* : I will by no meanes extenuate the courtesie, but that also is easily reducible to their own interest, which they had reason to regard, their labour being bestowed in *Ulster* which lay neare to *Scotland* , and would have been a very ill Neighbour in the Rebels hands. As also it may be considered that they had divers *Scottish* Plantations in those parts, which it concerned them to doe their best to preserve for their love to their Countrymen, and to keep off the burthen of their comming over to themselves. But I deny not but they have suffered something from *Ireland*, and done something for it , and nodoubt with respect to Religion, and the common good of these Kingdomes. But I being not so well acquainted with those affaires, forbear to speake more of them ; Let the *Brittish* in *Ulster* speake.

Page. 29.

After the narration of the *Scots* interposing with the King by Commissioners sent to *Oxford* , and their resolution upon the successe of it already mentioned, he proceeds to the Parliaments sending into *Scotland* for assistance, and to aggravate the kindnesse of their comming, he reflects upon the Parliament for not sending till their affaires were almost in despaire, adding the danger of not calling for helpe till things were too low. This low condition is described by him in the same page, viz. *The overrunning of the North, the beating Sir William Waller at the Devizes, surrendering Bristo'l and Banbury Castle basely (as he calls it.)* Toward the clearing of the truth in this, the Author affords us some helpe, which I shall endeavour to make out as farre as truth will suffer ; His words that I shall make use of are these ; *For the Parliament to try if they could do the businesse themselves*

selves without troubling the Scots was wisdom; for what need you call for ayde, and trouble your Neighbours, when you can do your businesse alone? Certainly, the hopes of compassing our businesse without the helpe of an Army thence, was the ground of their being no sooner called, though this Author alledgeth other mysticall grounds, pag. 30. But wee staid too long; Not so long as the Gentleman mentions, neither were our affaires so low as he expresse. Wee have good reason to remember the time of our sending thither, which was in July 1643. But whereas it is said, that Sir William Waller was ruined at the Vies, and Bristol taken, before our sending. The latter is absolutely denied, for our Commissioners had not newes of the losse of Bristol till they were in Scotland. As for Sir William Wallers Defeate, it is true he was scattered before the Commissioners went from London, but the Commissioners were named, and the Instructions preparing, and the journey fully resolved on before that Defeate, even when Sir William Waller had utterly spoyled Hoptons Army with continuall fighting. And as for the subjection of the North to the Earle of Newcastle, except Hull, it is not strictly true, for Wraifell-Castle likewise held out, and was never taken by the Kings Forces. But I acknowledge that added not much to the state of our affaires; I seek not advantages, I have too many given me.

Pag. 31. as also pag. 56. Upon mention of the Covenant for settling of the Church according to the Word of God, and conforme to the best reformed Churches, he addes, and by name to the Church of Scotland. This I take to be a falsification of the Covenant, which when I tooke I understood to have no more reference to one reformed Church then to another, no more to Scotland then New-England, though I beleve Old-England incapable of that Government is in New. All that is particularized (with respect to Church-Government) on the behalfe of Scotland, is that wee joyns in preservation of it against the common Enemy; supposed by all to be Papists and Prelates; the plaine intent of which to me seemes to be an endeavour to preserve Scotland from any relapse to the corruptions they had escaped, and not to preclude it from any further reformation,
if

if need should be. I can hardly forbear urging you with that of *Job*, *cap. 13. ver. 7.* Let us alledge faire and argue accordingly, especially since your Title is *Truths Manifest*, and mine *Manifest Truths*.

As for the Relation of their passing *Northumberland* with so little opposition, yet so much want, you are referred partly to the Narrative, which is true; as for the want spoken of, it was not so great as is pretended, neither was the Countie of *Northumberland* so much then wasted (for it hath indured very much since) but that it afforded many sheep, which were killed by the *Scots* the first or second night of their Entrance. If their want had been greater, the fault had been partly their own, who undertook to bring in fortie dayes provision, which if it had been done would have given libertie for getting Provisions before-hand.

Pag. 35. 36. He gives a Relation of the raising the Siege at *Torke*, and the Battell at *Marston Moore*, where the fault is laid wholly upon the *Torke-shire* Horse, which was not so, but I referre to the Narrative; Onely, I must take notice of his extolling the service of the Major Generall of the *Scotch* Horse, who is certainly a very able Commander. But I must differ in that point, with *Truths Manifest*. For the *Scotch* Horse which he commanded on the left Wing, were none of them drawne up in the Front that day, nor yet the next Reserve, (as I am informed) but as a Reserve to the Reserve, and being weaker Horse then my Lord *Manchesters*, were designed rather to the Chace (if God should so blesse us) then to the Charge. What whole bodies they charged I know not, but have made the best inquirie I can. As for the provocation which the Author had to magnifie the fore-named Gentleman, by the unseemly appellation of the Saviour of the three Kingdomes, (for so I beleeve he meanes, though it be printed the *Saviour*) given to Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, for ought I heare, it was attributed to him by a *Scottishman*, Major Generall *Craford* by name, which he could not help, and I hope, and thinke, I may say that he is angry at the expression, his modesty and piety in that respect hath been answerable to his valour

valour and successe; and upon a strict examination, you will find that he was in the field to the last, though his service might be a little hindred, after the first charge by the shot, which though it was not very dangerous, being but a rake in the neck, yet the Pistoll being discharged so neare, that the powder hurt his face, and troubled his eyes, was a better excuse for withdrawing (if he had done so, which yet he did not) then many a gay man had that day.

Pag. 37. It is said that the *Scots* upon the taking of *New-Castle* carryed themselves with such moderation, that the Enemies who had been in Armes against them, were constrained to speake well of them.

Their moderation is acknowledged as to violence, but as for the Testimony fetched from the mouth of the Enemies, there was too much reason for it, in regard that they, especially one of the principall of them, Sir *Nicholas Cole*, a person excepted from pardon, in the Propositions of both Kingdomes sent to the King at *Oxford*, was detained for some time from the Justice of the *Parliament* of *England* (who sent a Warrant for him) by the Generall of the Artillery (then commanding in Chiefe, in the absence of the noble Generall,) who kept him company frequently, let him live in all freedom and jollity, and would not part with him, till by an Order from the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, procured by a Commissioner sent thither, he was constrained so to doe: and for other Enemies they sought and found protection in some Regiments of the *Scottish* Army, which occasioned their speaking well: But I have no mind to aggravate, but must adde, that the excuse he makes of Military order in the next page, satisfies not; for as I take it, our Military force serves for nothing, but the establishment of Civill power and peace; I know no Military Order could keep the party above named, from being disposed according to the will of the *Parliament*, from the 20. of *October*, till the *February* after, and till the *Parliament* of *Scotland* very justly, and honourably interposed their Authority.

Pag. 38. and 39. He makes a digression to set forth the malignancy

malignancy and poverty of the North, thereby to prejudice many of their just complaints, and to make the stirring of the *Westmoreland-men* the more inexcusable. I shall give you as true an account as the *Manifest* of the North, both in generall, and with respect to the particular mentioned of the rising in *Westmoreland*. First, as for the Malignancy of the North, it had three disadvantages, first, its distance from the *Parliament* and City of *London*. Secondly, the want of good Ministers, which I wish the *Parliament* and *Assembly* would heartily consider of, there being not above foure Ministers in the foure Northern Counties capable of persecution by the Enemy, when these Warres began. The people are destroyed for want of knowledge; If some of that strength which hath been spent at *London* in endlesse Debates about Discipline, had been bestowed in Doctrine in the North, and such like barren places,

*Hec quantum terra potuit pelagiq; parari,
Hoc quem civiles, &c.*

Rom. 15.
20.

I wish Ministers were more of the temper of that holy Apostle, who laboured more abundantly then they all, who strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build on another mans foundation. But the warmth and accommodations of the South, and Principles of self-love in men too suitable to them, are *fundi nostri calamitas*. This hath been the principall means, how the Northern parts both of *England* and *Scotland*, have proved so disadvantageous to this Cause. And lastly, the Nobility of these parts, who were well affected, lived out of the Countrey, and the Gentry, (through the want of the powerfull preaching of the Gospel) were not so sound, which hath made the North in the condition it was: But yet give me leave to say, that for ought I ever observed or heard, the Commonalty of these parts were never so ill affected, but if due care had been taken to ingage them, they had been as serviceable to this Cause as any other, *Northumberland*, as *Norfolke*.

But more particularly for *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*,
they

they have shewed themselves the least disaffected of any other, For first, though they were arrayed, by Sir *Philip Mowgrave*, under the pretence of the defence of their owne Countreies, yet they never would be perswaded to goe out of them, to the prejudice of the *Parliament*, (for ought I have heard) they were willing to agree with *Lancashire*, and when they were in Armes, and might have resisted the *Scottish* Horse, (for they had that strength, which the Horse thought not fit to force,) yet upon a Letter from Mr. *Barwis*, they gave way for the *Scots* to come in among them. And the Countie of *Cumberland* raised 1800. Foot, and 400. Horse at their own charge, under the Command of Sir *Wilfred Lawson*, for the reduction of *Carlisle*. And these Countiees were not so poore, but that in the space of six moneths, or little more, the *Scottish* Horse and Dragoones had from thence about the value of one hundred thousand pounds, in mony and provisions, more then ever the Earle of *Newcastle* had from them, which argues they were not so poore, and spent, as that they were sensible of the least thing could be demanded. And to speake more particularly of *Westmoreland*, where the resistance to the *Scots* was, though I know no man justifies the action, for they should have addressed to the *Parliament*, yet these things may be considered. First, they had expended for the entertainment of the *Scottish* Army, 40000. l. or thereabouts, as much as they could well indure without intermission, so that now indeed they began to be sensible. Secondly, the Generall had so farre resented their charge, that he had under his hand forbidden his Souldiers levies of money. Thirdly, the *Parliament* had also made an Ordinance for the entertainment of the *Scottish* Army, dated *February* 20. laying the charge of it upon all parts of the Kingdome, in their power, that the North might be eased, (which for ought the *Scottish* Officers then knew, might be effectuell for their pay.) Fourthly, the *Scottish* Horse there quartered, had so full pay for the Winter, that the necessiities of the Countie were beyond the necessitie of the Souldier. These things considered, will make the *Westmorland* mens resistance, though (it may be) not justifiable

stiffable, yet not wholly inexcusable, seeing their ground was necessity, and their end the vindication, not onely of the Authority of *Parliament*, forbidding arbitrary Impositions by Armies, and ordering other wayes of provision for Souldiers: but of the *Scottish* Generall who had strictly forbidden the continuance of the assessment.

There is added, pag. 39. a bitter, and I think unjust reflection upon the *Commissioners*, employed by the *Parliament* in the North, who were Sir *William Amyne*, Mr. *Hatcher*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, Mr. *Barwis*, Mr. *Darley*, Mr. *Fenwick*, who put too much power in the hands of wicked *Malignants*, as *Recusants*, *Prelaticks*, *mentally in actuell Rebellion*, who spoyle the Country, oppresse honest men, &c. A high Charge: but no prooffe except the Assertion, he sayes indeed that men without exception (and that is strange, seeing Mr. *Maugrave* the chiefe of them is a *Sectary*) are sent up to the *Parliament*, to acquaint the Houses with the state of businesse. These mentioned Gentlemen were troubled, that they had no more, or better choyce to make *Committees* in the North, but certainly, they did to their apprehension chuse the best and most serviceable, and they challenge you to name the professed *Recusants*. As for *Prelaticks* and *Common Prayer-Booke-men*, in that Country where they knew no other Government, or Service, it's no considerable exception: as for men that have been in actuell Rebellion against the State; it may be granted, that they employed men, who according to Ordinance of *Parliament* had been Delinquents, though not active against the *Parliament*, for want of other; and for this; besides their necessity, they had such examples on both hands of them, in *England*, but especially *Scotland*, for the employing of neutrall, and not so well affected men, that it may be they passed over this rub with the lesse difficulty. And as for the spoyling the Country and oppressing honest men, the *Committee* are willing to joyne issue, whether they or the *Scottish* Army (for you put me to it) have most spoiled the Country, and oppressed honest men. As for the men deputed from *Cumberland*, to complaine of Mr. *Barwis* and the

rest; some of them may be honest, as I hope Mr. *Mumgrax* and his partner are, but certainly they are inconsiderate in this point, they find faults, and 'tis easie so to doe, it's like, in that, and other *Committees* there are too many, as Coverousness and Partiality (of which who ever are guilty, for their owne sake and the Kingdomes, let them amend it) but to goe about to disgrace and displace men in Authority, faithfull for the maine (as they have shewed it) and not to be able to name men fit to succeed, is but to give advantage to the destruction of their Countrey by the division of it, and to make a gap for some body else, who it may be will lesse mind their good, to strike in. I much suspect the drift of this Author, when he would goe about to possesse us, that all our affaires in the North are in ill hands, but I will not insist upon suspicions. And that Gentleman with some other well-affected to the Publike, viz. have been too forward in charging the proceedings of *Parliament*, and their *Committees*, pleading *Magna Charta*, and the Libertie of the Subject: Alas, our Ancestours never made provision for such times as these, and if all the Lawes which are to have free passage in times of peace, should now be urged, we could have no Martiall Law, no pressing men, fortifying other mens houses, cutting through their grounds to make workes, and so should lose our Liberty, whil'st we are defending knowne Lawes (which was the Kings old snare) cannot serve for dangers unknowne, when the Lawes were made: I hope the *Parliament* will be as carefull to countenance Law and Liberty as may be, but we must not expect, but that in many cases it should be broken, and onely that it may be preserved. As the case stands with us, it may goe for Malignancy or high indiscretion, to oppose and quarrell with the proceedings of the *Parliament*; God hath made them Instruments of much good, and I hope will of much more. The Reader is desired to pardon this digression, the discontents fomented by some against the Authority of the Houses, is so dangerous, that it hath inforced it.

From the 41. to 44. pag. The Author of the *Manifest*
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gives an account of the advance of the *Scottish Army* Southward in the Spring, where he tells of their march from *Newcastle* to *Rippon*, and from *Rippon* into *Westmoreland*, and so to *Rippon* againe, and then to *Nottingham*, and casts in the story of the printed papers called the *Manifest*.

The excuse of the *Scots*, and the fault of the *Countries* is declared to be in the slack providing of Draughts, and Provisions. But let us examine the true state of the business, concerning their marching or not marching Southward, that is, over the *Trent*, till the later end of *June*. The *Parliament* upon the grounds mentioned in the *Narrative*, sent for their speedy advance Southward in *March*, and sent them 30000*l.* in money, their desired proportion of Armes and Ammunition to fit them for service. The *Manifest* sayes, that the delay of the march from *Newcastle* to the first of *May*, was from the unreadiness of Draughts. The losses and wants of the parts about *Newcastle* sustained in the siege, and by assessments all the Winter, had made them, though not so able, yet very willing to forward the advance of the *Scots*, knowing their ease by it; and it will be proved, that in the midst of the complaints for Draughts, divers of their Officers, tooke money of those that brought them in, and released them: But that is a small matter: They came to *Rippon*, or at least part of them about the beginning of *May*, how comes the stop there? It's alleadged to be want of Draughts and provisions. First, for Draughts, certainly the County of *York* could not so little understand their own condition (of which their suffering could not but make them sensible) if they had not had an apprehension of the publique Service, as not to afford them all possible Requisites to their march Southwards: for as for the County, it did undergoe ten times the charge by their stay there; and as for my Lord *Fairfax*, and the Committee, they were so apprehensive of the Inconveniences of their not marching, that they saw besides the disappointment of the *Parliament*, their owne forces in danger of ruine by the quarter and assessments of the *Scottish Army*. Concerning Draughts, I adde this further. The not relieving Draughts
by

by the way, and not restoring them when they served their proportion, and exacting money for freeing them, makes the people more backward then they should, or otherwise would bee. For it's certaine, that the *Herefordshire* men were some of them at *Northallerton* in *Yorkeeshire* seeking their Draughts this Winter, and the *Yorkeeshire*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland* men, were forced to give money for releasing their Draughts, and some to sell their Oxen at under rates, and leave their Waynes behind them. And truly I am not satisfied, how the *Scottish* Army should come by Draughts so easily to march back into *Westmoreland*, as to be ready on a sudden, without further trouble to the Committee to march thither, but could get no accomodation for marching Southward. If they used the same rigour for Draughts for Service (which is more reasonable) as they doe for money for subsistence, they would never want them long: Will you give me leave to say, that was not the onely reason, but that time was not the season of their marching. For when our Commissioners came to a Rendezvous at *Bramham-moore*, Lieutenant General *Lesley* upon their appearance, came galloping up with this expression, *I have it, I have it*, and tells them he had received intelligence from Sir *VVilliam Brereton*, that the King was sending a flying Army through *Lancashire* into *Scotland*, but the Letters were not produced to our Commissioners, who therefore moved for furer intelligence, before they marched toward *Westmoreland*, and went away with that expectation: but the next newes they heard was, the *Scottish* Army marched early next morning, and were gone twenty foure miles before they heard of them: And thus went they backe into *Westmoreland*, where they were when the King tooke *Leiceister*. And since the *Manifest* addes, they had come sooner from *Westmoreland*, but that they also were slow, and unwilling in providing Draughts and Provisions: Give me leave to say this for truth; that when they were to march back from *Westmoreland*, the *Yorkeeshire* Draughts which brought them thither were not gone back, and thereupon Mr. *Barris* and the Committees there, (to spare the paines and hazard

hazard of their owne Draughts) would have agreed with the *Yorkeshire* men for a summe of money, to let their Draughts be employed back againe , which was refused by the *Scots* under pretence of trouble to the *Yorkeshire* men. So that *Westmorland* Draughts must needs goe , and Warrants were granted for 75 by the Committee of *Cumberland & Westmorland*, which came in so well that the Generall of the Artillery gave a very good testimony to the readinesse of the Committee and County, notwithstanding all their pretended disaffection : And so much for the businesse of Draughts ; Unless I should adde the story of that Officer who at the Siege of *Newcastle* sent for Draughts to *Barrick*, and then sold the Oxen.

Now for Provisions, let me adde something. First, it was expected that the *Scottish* Army upon the Receipt of 30000. li. to enable them to advance , should have made some provision of victuals to be carried along against a time of necessitie , for in their ordinary Marches not neare an Enemy the Country would afford it. Secondly, the *Scottish* Generall sent to the Committees of *York* onely to cause Provisions to be brought to the places where the Army should lodge from night to night, and not the provision of a Magazine, which they would have done rather then have occasioned their stay in *Yorkshire*, to the prejudice of the Publique and themselves. Thirdly, when they came and demanded provisions, the Committee used all possible diligence to procure them, onely they desired a full resolution for their March Southward , before they delivered them. And when the Army was marching into *Westmorland*, the provisions were going toward *Bramham-Moore*, and those parts. Fourthly, Why could not they as well march Southward toward *Nottinghamshire*, a very plentifull Countrey, without such a stocke of Provisions, as over *Stainemore*, a most barren place, and goe into *Westmorland*, a Country which the *Manifest* layes was so spent, that they were sensible of the least Demands ? And for Provisions when they came from *Westmorland*, in a very short space, they had foure or five dayes provision, according to their demand of 18000 weight *per diem*, made ready for them, by the speciall diligence of M^r *Barrick*,

to whom I cannot but give the testimony of a very honest and faithfull man to the Publique, and one who hath deserved better at some mens hands then he hath found. And so about the beginning of *June* they began their journey Southward againe, and passed speedily through *Yorkshire*, without any of those difficulties which hindred (as is said) their march before. And in the meane time Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* being a man not acceptable to the *Scots*, and excepted against as one whom their Army would not joyne in service with, was called back, and Collonel *Vermuden* sent with a Party of Horse to strengthen their Army, but he not finding them, being gone into *Westmorland*, he marched back, not without hazard, and came and resigned his Regiment before *Naseby* fight. I have no more to adde in reference to this part of the *Manifest*, but to remark his observation on the *Yorkshire* Horse, which he saith were not a third part of the thousand armed. Give me leave to answer; the *Yorkshire*-men had been better horsed and armed both, had it not been for the very great burthen upon that County, by reason of the *Scottish* Army, which was one reason of the distraction of those Forces.

As for what he saith about publishing the Papers delivered in to the Houses of Parliament, by the *Scottish* Commissioners, under the title of the *Scots Manifest*, by I know not whom. If the Commissioners hand was in the printing, sure they would not have disclaimed it, as this Author saith they did, if their hand was not in it, it was printed underhand, contrary to the passage of *play underboard and clandestine dealing*, Pag. 51. As also the Letter from *Nottingham*, signed by the chiefe Officers of the Army, which was sent to the Parliament and not to the people, and I thinke ought not to have been published without the consent of them to whom they were written: I suppose them that wrote it knew as little of the printing it as they that received it; but if printing Letters be so convenient, you may soon have enough of that worke.

In the 46. & 47. *Pag.* He addes a word or two about moneys received by the *Scottish* Army, provisions made for, and the behaviour of the Army. To which first he gives an assurance in
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Animadversions.

the name of the *Scotts* (which I know not what authority he hath to use) that they desire an universall tryall of all things, it may be so, but his warrant is not sufficient.

To these he gives brieve answers (*scil.*) *short of money, scant of provisions, of their carriage indifferent.* Give me leave to adde something more. First for money, it cannot be denied, but that the proportion of money allotted them by the Treaty was not paid monethly, neither doth the Treaty undertake it shall exactly, for (knowing the want, and distractions of the Kingdome) there is an addition made of Publique Faith, for the part unpaid; but I adde these things. First, that the Parliament hath not been able to give them their expected pay, for all the Counties of this Kingdome, except *London*, and the Association for the maintenance of the *English Army*, have either wholly or in some part been under the enemy, or been constrained to maintaine a force for their defence; so that they could not afford much (especially through the wast, and depopulation following the warre, the estates of Delinquents which was principally intended for the way of their maintenance being made little of) and whether the Parliament should so dispose the part left free, as not to have some maintenance for an *English Army*, for the service of *England*, let reasonable men judge. Secondly, though they have not had so much as might be expected in an orderly way, yet some way or other, by their own unwarranted assessments and otherwise they have had no small Sums: The particulars must rest till the accompt: And they were so vigilant (let me not say violent) in making provision for themselves, that it gave occasion to many to remit their care and indeavour in providing for them. And lastly, although the foote Souldier doth not abound, for he is kept to his foure pence a day in provision, yet the Officers and Horsemen have not felt any want this long time, as appears by their very liberall expences in clothes and drinkings, which every Market-Towne neare their Quarters can witness. If the Parliament could have paid them duly, and did not, they have been very ill husbands, for certainly it were farre better for this Kingdome they received money to dispend here, and

and pay their Quarters, then to referre to the confused reckoning for Quarters, and sending money into *Scotland*. I could wish that this Kingdome were not so forward in their promises and undertakings, for no man lookes at our willingnesse in promising, but reflects upon our weaknesse in performing. As for their pay comparative to other Armies, wee can affirme that in other Armies there is as much want among their foote, who sometimes have neither money nor provisions, and not so much excesse among the Horse : wee know Forces in *England*, that have had as little pay as this Author saith this Army had, a moneth in seven, and yet never assailed the Country without leave from the Parliament, nor used violence towards the people, but were content with Free Quarter, who have yet done very good service too. As for Provisions, the instance of *Hereford* shall be satisfied in its place : As for other places I am sure there are many have been very glad to give what they could, or had, and be glad if they might so escape ; and as for that foule imputation of some mens detaining Provisions, that so the Army might be dis-inabled for service ; certainly those men as they are no friends to the *Scotts* Army, so are they enemies to the Parliament and good of the Kingdome ; and this Author is bound to discover them by his Covenant ; We have had more need of their service, especially before *Naseby*, then to hinder them from it : As for the disorders of the Army, the Author is in some measure ingenuous, and confesses the necessity of some miscarriages which will be in an Army, especially unpaid, but I may say safely I know Armies better ordered ; want of pay is some excuse for Free Quarter or Pillage, but for rapes, murders, violence, swearing, drunkennesse, I know none, neither doe I beleeve them to be punished, according to Ecclesiasticall and military Law, as is pretended. And take it not ill, that I say, if you love the *Presbytery*, reforme the Army, for it is very scandalous.

Pag. 51. He proceeds to the constitution of the Committee of both Kingdomes ; and *Pag. 56. & 57.* to the corruptions of some of the *English* of that Committee, let us consider of both.

It's true, the Parliament out of their earnest desire of a most

arft union with their Brethren, desired a conjunction not onely of Forces, but of Councels, which so long as both Kingdomes doe earnestly and entirely promote the common interest of both in the same way, hath its advantages; but give me leave to say, that as the matter is ordered, the conjunction is not equall in every point, for *Scotland* hath besides their Committee joyned with ours for the regulating their Army in our service, Commanders interested in the knowledge of our especiall affaires, and the ordering of our *English* Forces, we have not so in *Scotland*, but are meere strangers to the businesse, and Armies of that Kingdome, notwithstanding the great dependence that our affaires have upon theirs while wee have a common enemy.

And further, they have Committees joyned with ours for the raising and receiving money, as at *Goldsmiths Hall*, and at *Newcastle*, where at first a lock was set upon the Custom-house-dore by the appointment of the *Scottish* Committee, with an intent solely to administer the money-businesse there, afterward they were content with a mutuall key, off so ill credit are our *English* Officers (I know not the reason) but wee have no joyned Muster-Master nor Pay-Master of that Army to take accompt how the money is expended, but these are things I have little to doe with, yet they are manifest truths.

The constitution of the Committee, I know none disallows when the *Parliament* hath consented to it: but let us looke to the corruption where it is found, that contrary to the Order of that Committee where the *Scots* have a negative voyce, and nothing is done, or at least ought to be done, without their knowledge and consent, concerning Peace, or Warre, publicly or privately, directly, or indirectly, &c. Two things have been foully carryed on the *English* Part. First, the naming and assembling a Sub-Committee without knowledge of the *Scots*, this was in my Lord *Savills* case, who came with overtures of getting *Oxford* delivered to the *Parliament*, and *Gorings* Horse brought over to us, where it seemes the Lord *Say*, Mr. Soliciter, and Mr. *Crew* were appointed to speake with him, which they had like to have paid deare for, in regard that a Minister of

London,

London, unadvisedly being set on by a *Scottish* Minister, and Commissioner, went to the Exchange, and misreported the business, that some men of speciall note in our *Parliament*, were treating with the Enemy about delivering our Townes to them, to the amusement of the City, and the danger of the Gentlemen. Let the Reader consider the time, and circumstances of this accusation, and judge whether it were not a designe fitted for the ruine of the New-Model'd Army, and those who had been active in it. But they that knew the Order and practise of that *Committee*, affirme this was not un-usuall, nor had been before excepted against, to appoint a *Sub-committee* all *English* without a *Scottish* Commissioner. And the House of *Commons* after solempne hearing the whole business, adjudged that the *Sub-Committee* had done their duty, and order'd Mr. *Cranford* to acknowledge his fault, and pay 500. l. to each of them, though I beleave they regard no pecuniary benefit. As for the latter concerning *Pat: Napar*, I am informed the case was this, the Lord *Lauderdale* told the *Committee*, there was a *Scottish* man had business to impart to them concerning *Oxford*, a *Sub-Committee* was appointed (the *Committee* sitting) whereof the said Lord was one to examine the man, and receive his information, which was concerning the Forces and Provisions in *Oxford*: but his Information being only coincident with intelligence formerly received, it was the lesse regarded: but as for that secret of the easie place, it is easier to say then to prove it, for the Gentlemen of that *Sub-Committee* knew of no such advantage, and therefore could not disclose it, and therefore let *Patrick* lay his hand upon his heart, &c. as is advised, pag. 57. But why will you give me so just, nay so necessary occasion by the mention of these deviations (as you make them) of the *English* Members of the *Committee* of both Kingdomes, from the Rule, to put you, and others in minde of the carriage of things betwixt the *Scotts Committee*, joyned with the *English* Commissioners in the North, for ordering the *Scotts Army*, where the *English* have been so farre from having a negative in any thing, that in many things they have had no vote at all?

How often have those Forces been disposed of, diminished, increased, removed from place to place, from *England* to *Scotland*, and back againe, without the knowledge and consent of our Commissioners? How are some Garrisons put into *English* Townes and Castles, without their consent required, others without their consent obtained? for there is no *Scottish* Garrison in any *English* Towne, or Castle, which hath the consent of the *Parliament*, except *Barwicke*, where a Governour was placed with the approbation of the *English* Commissioners, to whom equally with the *Scots*, the disposall of the Army is by Treaty committed, and this hath been done, or at least not altered, by the *Scots* Committee of themselves without sending to the *Parliament*, or convention of Estates in *Scotland*, as we are constrained to the *Parliament* of *England*, in case of the dissent of the *Scots*; so that there we have no negative, or to no purpose, which is here so strictly expected; I am sorry you have put me to this discourse.

Page. 54. 55. as also 59. 60. you will pardon my going backwards and forwards, I must follow my Leader; The *Manifest* gives an account of the diverse correspondencies of the *Scots* Commissioners, sometimes with one sort of men, sometimes with another: I suppose the Gentleman may be bolder with them than I: they are men in publick employment, and should not be bandied by a private pen, I shall say nothing to their disadvantage, they notwithstanding any alteration of their company have kept constant to their Principles, and Counsels, which have been to set up the Presbyteriall Government in *England* (which is their declared business) and that in full power and vertue; without connivence at *Sects*, *Schismes*; this could not be done till the common Enemy was weakned, and therefore both the *Scots* and *Independents* might well joyne, for they both had hopes: but when the *Scots* saw the *Sectaries* not altered in opinions, but expecting the Liberty of their owne practise, the grow strange to each other, as being bound severall wayes, and to supply their place another party strikes in, partly out of concurrence with the *Scots* in Church-Government, and partly

out of envie and opposition to the *Independents*, who as they thought had supplanted them: but since those men who were most averse to the coming in of the *Scots*, greatest strangers afterwards, most forward to have them gone, are so handsomely come about to an intimate conjunction with the *Scots*, *quid non speremus?* the world may turne once againe, and the old friendship may be renewed, let us not be too much prejudiced. And the Author reduces this mistake to the Church-Governments as I doe; onely he speaks of a stipulation given from the *English* Commissioners to the *Scots* when in *Scotland*; to goe heartily along with them in settling Church-Government, I know no private stipulation, as for the Covenant, which is the mutuall publique stipulation, I hope we shall all stand to, to endeavour Reformation according to the word of God; but if my observation faile me not, the distances (though I desire not to meddle with them) have been also kept with men like affected with them, for the maine of Church-Government, and was occasioned also by the businesse of the new Modell; of which more by and by. Pag. 57. 58. There is mention made of the unreasonablenesse of the Siege at *Oxford*, while the Enemy was ranging abroad, and calling back the Party that followed the King, both being against the advice of the *Scots*, and how fit it was, rather for Sir *Tho: Fairfax* his Army to follow the King at that time, then the *Scots*, and herein referre to the condition of each Army. And since we are called upon to try these things, and not suffer them to be carryed away in hugger mugger (as the word is) let it be tryed. First, for the siege at *Oxford*, of which I thinke this a true accompt, it is well knowne how earnest endeavours there were almost on all parts, to hinder the new moulding of the Armies, how when seven thousand Horse and Foote were got together about *Redding*, and *Windsor*, they were dispatched into the West, and: when they had marched as farre as *Blairford*, which is about seventy miles from *Windsor*; they were by Order from the Committee of both Kingdomes divided, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with 3500. commanded back towards *Oxford*, where the King had joy-
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ned his Horse, and almost compleated his Army for the Spring, so that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his party could not march through *Wiltshire*, but was constrained to goe through *Hampshire* for safety; before his returne the King marched from *Oxford*, Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, and Major Generall *Browne* followed him as neare as they well might, with another part of the Army, so that, that Army was already in three parts, farre distant from each other; the *Deputies* of the *Parliament* were sent downe to the North, for the speedy advance of the *Scots Army*, which was fitter for the field then Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes*, for they had twelve or fourteen thousand men in a body, in *Yorkshire*, and besides the *Yorkeshire* Horse, a Party of the new Modell (which makes another division of the Army) was sent under Colonel *Vermuden* to joyne with them, so that they wanted neither men, money; (for 30000. l. was sent them in order to their advance) Armes, nor Ammunition, which also they had received in good proportion: as for Draughts and Provisions we have said enough before: but Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* Army, when joyned with *Cromwell*, *Roffet*, and when *Vermuden* not finding the *Scots Army*, which was gone into *Westmorland*, was returned, and when he had the accession of some Association, and *Northampton* Horse, was but eleven hundred, or thereabouts, and therefore was it thought but reasonable that his Army should have a litle time to gather together; and that the pretence of sitting still might not be made against it, it was appointed rather to lie upon the Enemies Quarters about *Oxford*, then our owne, that the reduction, and recruiting of it might be perfected. As for the calling back the Party following the King, they were too weak to follow him, because too weak to fight him, for they were but equall (when joyned with the other part of the Army) at *Naseby* fight. And besides if they had advanced, it had been under the Command of Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, with whom the *Scots* had no mind to joyne, and so the Service might have been prejudiced. And so have you the story of
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the Siege of Oxford, in which you think there is so much disadvantage to the Publick on our part.

Pag. 62. We have a story of the Treaty at Uxbridge, wherein this Author (as if he meant division) is not content to extoll the faithfulness, Resolution, Prudence, knowledge of the *Scottish* Commissioners, which never was questioned: but he reflects unworthily upon the *English* Commissioners in these words. *The Kings Commissioners feeling the Pulse of the Parliament Commissioners, did promise unto themselves, upon what ground they knew best, or at least should know, that they could carry all things to their minds, if it were not for the rude and stiffnecked Scots, (it's his owne language) who were so firme to their Principles, and resolved rather to follow on the works with honour and Conscience, then to yield to a base agreement to the prejudice of Church and State.* Consider here, first the charge, that had it not been for the *Scots*, distinct from the *English* Commissioners, the Court Commissioners had compassed their ends, which were certainly very disadvantageous, if not destructive to the *Parliament* and Kingdome, which without straining amounts to thus much; that the *Parliament* sent Commissioners to the Treaty, that were either so unwise, or so unfaithfull, as that, had it not been for the *Scottish* assistants, the Cause of the *Parliament* and Kingdome, had been through them prejudiced, if not betrayed. And to this in opposition to the *English*, he makes an addition of the firmness, honour, Conscience and resolution of the *Scottish* Commissioners. I wonder at this in stead of answering it. Let us consider who were employed, men we always had an honourable opinion of, and shall have, notwithstanding any such unjust and unworthy suggestions, which have no prooffe nor can have, to whom we must give this testimony, that in that, as in other our affaires, they carryed themselves with all diligence and faithfulness, so that the Treatie ended without our prejudice, and there an end of it.

Pag. 63. The next thing in order is the new Modell, wherein the *Parliament* is a little beholding to him, for he justifies

justifies that action of the *Parliament*, by the necessity of it, in regard of the faults of some who were employed in the Armies, which the *Parliament* had attempted to amend in a faire way; but to small purpose. To which let me adde another reason, that by the reduction of the Armies, the Officers were abated, especially the most costly ones, as Generall Officers, and the charge lessened, that the *Parliament* might be the better able to pay other Officers in their Service.

We are told of the interposition of the *Scottish* Commissioners in that affaire, advising the *Parliament* by their paper put in to that purpose, to chuse (as this Author sayes) men of ability and experience, and faithfull to the cause, which latter he expounds to be men, not inclined to Sects, and Schismes; I remember that paper of the *Scottish* Commissioners, was then wondred at, but now it is not; If their counsell were followed, as this Author confesses in some degree it was, there is the lesse reason to complaine, but who ever complains, I thank God for the new Modell.

And before wee passe from the new Modell, two exceptions must be cleared, which this Author makes concerning it.

First, Concerning the Covenant, pag. 64. where he wonders and doubts, he wonders it should admit any debate in the *Parliament*; whether the Armies should be put to the oath; and then why the common Souldiers should not be put to it: and then doubts that the order for the taking of it by the Commanders is not so well observed. For the debates and orders of the *Parliament*, I doe not use to debate them over againe, especially when satisfied in these two things, that a common Souldier that hath not taken the Covenant, may doe very good service to the Kingdome, and that there is not the same reason why it should be pressed upon them as upon the enemies coming in, because we doubt them more then we doe these, and therefore offer them a discovery and engagement. But for the Covenant I have taken it; and approve the taking of it, though I have neither power nor will to compell it.

As for the doubt that the Officers take it not, I cannot satisfie it, but I am sure they doe the things that it obliges to, better then many that have taken it, and to mee a Covenant not taken is much better then a Covenant not kept.

To which I adde, *Novimus & qui te*, wee can tell you when and where, the *Scottish* Army hath in articles of Treaty and surrender agreed to an article in these words; That the Nationall Covenant shall not be enforced, either upon Officer, Soldier, Gentleman, or Clergy-man, as in the Capitulation for *Tinmouth-Castle*, and to the like purpose at *Carlisle*, though our Armies have alwayes (for ought I ever heard) refused to accept of any such article, as at *Bristol*; but require a subjection to all Ordinances of Parliament. So that notwithstanding this exception, it seemes our Commanders either love the Covenant better then they, or Castles not so well.

As for the reason of some mens backwardnesse to the Covenant, which is alledged to be their averfenesse to the *Presbyterian* government, I see no reason why that should be a reason, because there is no mention of the *Presbyteriall* government in the Covenant, nor (for ought I know) any intention of it any further, then it is found agreeable to the word of God, which wee all professe a submission to. And it is well knowne that learned and godly men, though not satisfied in the *Presbyteriall* government, have taken the Covenant, as knowing that no particular government, but the word of God, is set up as the rule of reformation.

It may be your interpretation of the Covenant to reach so farre, and your addition of the Church of *Scotland*, may discourage men from taking it, lest not interpreting it as you, they should give you the scandall of Covenant-breaking.

Here comes in the learned dispute of active and passive obedience, where it is affirmed that passive obedience is a great absurditie; That is onely an absurditie in language, which is an absurditie in use, for use makes propriety; but this exprellion being very common (and that among Scholars) is not absurd. And therefore this Author gives so much respect to Divines, as not to except against their use of this exprellion, with respect to Christ.

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Obedience

Obedience is taken either positively, for performance of the command; or privatively, for not resistance or submission, as *Phil.* 2. 8. *He became obedient unto death*; which is ordinarily called passive obedience. He saith all vertue consists in action, *Moralists* say so, but yet they allow silence and patience to be vertues, which cannot be said to be actions, but rather forbearances of action; though some intimate act of the minde belongs to them, as also to this submission; It is accounted a great vertue or rather grace in Christ, that *being reviled, he reviled not againe*, yet there was no action. But your principle makes well for the new *Modell*, if all vertue consists in action, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* his Army being active, must be concluded, vertuous, notwithstanding *Independency*.

Before I come to the second exception about the new *Modell*, *scil.* the leaving out the *Scottish Officers*, notice must be taken of a loose discourse, *Pag.* 67, 68, 69. occasioned by a *Speech uttered publicly*, by one to this purpose, *That the maine quarrell the Parliament stood for at first, and thereafter, did take up armes for, was not Religion, nor the reformation of the Church, but the freedom and libertie of the Subject.* Which saying he pleads to be injurious, but handles it injuriously; for he makes the sense of that speech to be this; *The Parliament did not from the beginning intend a true reformation of Religion, which it affords not, the Parliament may intend reformation, and yet not fight for it.* And without prejudice to the Parliament, let me declare my opinion. The Parliament (I doubt not) did looke at Religion as the foundation and perfection of the Kingdomes happinesse, and had it chiefly in their eye. Some indeed have thought them more intent to Liberty, upō a mistake they could not be earnest for Religion, unlesse they were for Liberty, (which is the fence and preservative of the practise of it;) But yet if I were asked the ground of the Parliaments taking up armes *de facto*, I should not answer the reformation of Religion, (for I make some question whether Religion, especially the reformation of it, be so proper a quarrell for the sword) but that seeing the King instead of suffering Justice to be executed upon offenders, prepared violence against the Parliament,

ment, and in it against our liberty, with all the fruits of it, (of which the enjoyment of Religion was the choicest) they raised an Army to defend us and themselves, that they might sit with freedom and liberty to performe their trust, for the preservation and reformation of the Kingdome, which they have attended as much as the difficulties and distractions of the times would permit. And to that end called an Assembly of Divines, that they might from them receive some light to direct them in the execution of their power in matters of Religion.

He spends some further time in discussing that Position, Whether Liberty were the maine quarrell.

I answer, They looked at Libertie, *primò*, but not *primariò*, Religion as the furthest end, but Liberty as the next meanes: The infringement of libertie gives advantage to corruption in Religion, as our Adversaries well know, when they with equall pace brought on slavery and superstition. Here the Author takes a needlesse ground to tell the people that which is not true, *That they are in a worse case in respect of Liberty then formerly, by paralleling Committees with the Star-Chamber, and Taxes with Ship-money.* This sounds more like sedition then truth; For howsoever Committees may be guilty of partialities and miscarriages, yet their maine intent is our preservation, not our burthen, as the other Courts were. And we have now a better appeale from a Committee to the Parliament, then we had from the Star-chamber to the King. Injury may be done now as well as then, but not so professedly, or with so little remedy.

And as for taxes heavier then Shipmoney, I wonder either at your face or at your judgement. In the beginning of the 70 pag. you make a plaister of the necessitie of taxes, but it is not so wide as the wound: The wiser of the people see and discover your fallacious dealing, and see a great deale of difference betwixt the Kings destroying their right in Ship-money, and the Parliaments preserving their right notwithstanding taxes, which I hope will not last long.

I passe to the second exception against the new Modell,

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pag. 72. 74. which is led up by a story of the Kings courting the *Scottish* Officers, and his successe, which I meddle not with. The exception is, that *at the making of the New Modell, were cashiered of the Scots in one day above two hundred brave fellows.* I answer, the Parliament were entring upon a way of good husbandry in reducing their Armies, and it may be, they thought these brave fellows would be too chargeable. But in earnest, you say two hundred of the *Scots* were cashiered, you should have used a milder terme, and said reduced. Cashiering implies a fault, Reduction none. As two hundred *Scots*, so foure hundred *English* were at that time put out of employment, and brave fellows too for ought I know. It's strange to mee that the Parliament of *England* should not (without exception) forme an Army as seemes best to them for their own defence and the Kingdomes; Especially when the *Scots* had so great an Army in *England*, and another in *Ireland*, where employment was to be had. But the Parliament to shew they had no nationall respect, named foure Colonels of the new Modell, and some Captaines, besides a Lievtenant Colonel, who is adjutant Generall of their foot, a place of great trust; who all except the last refused to serve. The grounds of their laying downe are said to be three: First, *because the rest of their Countrymen were not employed*; There was no use of them, if we had men of our own Nation, they were, in reason, to be preferred, *æteris paribus*; and it is not without its exception, that they will not serve unlesse so many together. Secondly, *They were nominated to inferiour employments*, that is a question, they were but Major Generalls to Major Generalls, and Commanders of parties, but I stand not upon that; Let the Earle of *Manchester*, & Sir *William Waller* be Generalls, yet those Gentlemen knew, that in the places they came from beyond Sea, if they returned they must accept of such employments as these, or lower, and I hope we shall not have a perpetuall warre in *England*. Sudden risings from a Lieutenant Colonell to a Lieutenant Generall must have sudden falls. Thirdly, *Men unacquainted with warre and averse to the Covenant*, should have been employed with them, from whom they could not expect true fellowship or obedience to Orders.

ders. The men have confuted your Exception for Military vertue, by their diligence and valour; And though there be in the Army men that have taken the Covenant, and make conscience of it, yet if there be any that have not, there is no discord, but all unanimously prosecute the ends in the Covenant, so farre as they are matter of Warre. As for your question, *Whether the Parliament in leaving out some, or the Officers not left out, in laying downe their Commissions were more in the Wrong?* It's answered, neither of them in the Wrong. Me thinks he that considers how faithfull and how successfull the Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax hath been, and reckons up Naseby, Leicester, Lungport, Bridgewater, Sherborne, Bristol, Basing, Winchester, Barkley, and other Honour which God hath put upon that Army, should be well content with the *New Modell*. But an Objection followes; *But God hath blessed the honesty and piety of some men extraordinarily in the new Army, so that great things are done by it.*

This is a sad objection: but you answer'd it by acknowledging the good done, *but no thanks to the profession of Holinesse of this, or that man*; they will joyne with you, and say in the Apostles language, *Acts 3. 12.* neither their own power or holinesse, much lesse the profession of holinesse hath done any thing, but the name of Christ, in which they have troden downe their Enemies. As for the passage concerning the Generall, that he is little spoken of for doing much, he sees the hooke and neglects the baite; God and all good men love and honour him.

He proceeds in this 76. page, to shew how *fit it is to employ fit men*, lest God be tempted; It's granted, and was practised; the Gentleman employed were fit men, they were many of them godly men: slight not that, Godlinesse is profitable for all things. They were, and have approved themselves diligent men. Another speciall requisite in a Souldier; they were, as hath often appeared, stout and valiant men: But what shall we doe for *experience*? I answer: some men gaine more experience in two yeares, then others in ten, because they are more advertent, and have better parts. And for our *English Warres*, our *English experience*.

rience is as good as any, and we have had more experimentall Service in these three, or foure yeares warre in *England*, then falls out in other parts in a farre longer time. But we desired men of forraigne experience, and they refused, therefore we must take *English*.

Let me here adde an advertisement to my Countrey-man (for I suppose I am taken to be an *English-man*;) It hath been, as the usuall disposition; so small fault of this Nation (contrary to the good example of their neighbours) to depreesse one another, admire and adore strangers for unknowne vertues, which hath kept this Kingdome lower in its Reputation then it deserved: I shall not doubt to deliver it for a Position, that you have at this time (especially for our *English* affaires) Souldiers of your own Nation, so able and active in Service, that if you goe further, for ought I know, you may fare worse; and if God give us but grace to imbrace union instead of faction, we may doe him a great deale of Service, and our selves and Neighbours right. A word more, Pag. 77. *The Author accounts it a misery, why in the framing an Army, there should be more regard had of the Piety and honesty of the Officers, then the Souldiers.* This mystery is very clear in Scripture, and Reason. First, God lookes more at Commanders then inferiours, *Jer. 5. 4. 5.* Lo, these are poore and foolish, I will get me to the great men, if they breake the bands, a Lyon out of the Forest comes in. Secondly, in reason; good Officers may reclaime and restraine Souldiers by authority, and example, and so cannot good Souldiers ill Officers. But I have done; a businesse of moment followes concerning *Carlisle*.

Pag. 77. The Author of the *Manifest* enters upon the businesse of the Siege and reduction of *Carlisle*; and to make this businesse cleare, since I omitted the Relation of it in the *Narrative*, I must adde it here. *Carlisle* was in the possession of the Enemy, when the *Scots* entred. After *Torke* was taken (it being thought a considerable place, to hold footing in the North) Sir *Thomas Glenham* was sent thither

to command the Towne. In September, about the beginning of it, the Commonalty of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, laying downe their Armes, upon the desire of Mr. *Barwis*, Sir *Wilfrid Lawson*, and others, the *Scots* Horse being six Regiments, and one of Dragoones, commanded by Lieutenant Generall *Lefley*, went into those parts, yet went not direct to *Carlisle*, but stayed at *Penrith*, in which time *Carlisle* was further victualled; after that they draw neare, and with the assistance of Sir *Wilfrid Lawson* (who had raised some strength of Horse and foot) blocked up the Towne.

After this in the latter end of October, some Regiments of the *Scots* Horse were removed, and onely two and the Dragoones remaining, which with the Forces of the County, were thought sufficient for the Service, and as many as the Country could well beare; Thus was *Carlisle* straitned, in which Service the *English* kept five and sometimes six Posts, and the *Scots* but two all that Winter. Toward the beginning of April, those two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, having lyen under heave burthens, amounting to 30000. l. or thereabouts, which the *Scots* Horse had received (besides the charge of maintaining their owne Forces) began to grow impatient of their burthen, and after they saw that (notwithstanding the Ordinances of Parliament (forbidding all Arbitrary assessments, and appointing a way of provision for the *Scots* Army) and the order of the Generall, to forbid all taxes from the first of March) their oppressions were still continued, the *Westmorland* men resisted the collection of them, thereupon the Committee of both Kingdomes at *Newcastle*, sent a letter to the Committees of those Counties, dated April 21. 1645. subscribed *Leven Callander*, *William Armine*, declaring that, if those two Counties would undertake to raise, and maintaine sufficient Forces, to keepe in the Garrison of *Carlisle*, the *Scots* Horse should be removed; hereupon the Committees of *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland* consulted, and agreed to undertake the Service, and gave notice

ticethercof to the Committee at Newcastle, and the Scots Generall in a Letter, dated *Aprill* the 25. 1645. and provided three thousand Foote and six hundred Horse, which with the advantage of the workes, they had made, were sufficient to the worke: but instead of removing the Scots Horte, a Regiment of Foote were sent to *Carlisle*, with three peeces of Ordnance, when the Scots marched Southward from Newcastle, and Sir John Browne sent word to the *Westmorland* men, coming up according to agreement, to the Service against *Carlisle*, that he would fight with them if they came on. After this, the whole Army marches into *Westmorland*, and sends more commanded men to *Carlisle*, and impose seven thousand pound a moneth upon these two Counties, for the maintenance of their Force before *Carlisle*; (besides the maintenance of their owne) and that, after Declaration made under the hands of the Earle of *Leven*, *Calander* and *Armyne*, dated *Aprill* 25. 1645. that no Taxe should be laid upon them, but by Authority of *Parliament*. About this time the Lord *Kirkbright*, who commanded the Scots Force therefor that present, sent orders to Lieutenant Collonel *Beecher*, Sir *Wilfrid Lawsons* Lieutenant Collonel, to quit a Fort which he had made at *Bockerby Mount*, and to resigne it to three hundred commanded Foot of the Scots Army; the Lieutenant Collonel refused unlesse his Collonel gave consent; thereupon the noble Lord replied, he desired no better occasion to cut them all in pieces, and said he would command my Lord *Fairfax*, if there, and sent his Foot and some Horse to beleager the Sconce, instead of the Towne, which was no well.

After this (about the middle of *June*) when the time of *Carlises* surrender drew neare, the *English* Commissioners, having received instructions from the *Parliament*, concerning the place, and the Government of it when it should be reduced, went thither, but no *Scottish* Commissioners to joyne with them, the *English* and Scots were both desirous to be possessed of the Towne, the *English* thought it but reasonable, to be trusted with *Carlisle* on the Scots borders,

as well as the *Scots* with *Barwick* on the *Englishs*, especially, they having *Garrisons* *Newcastle*, and foure other places besides: the *English* Commissioners (no *Scotch* Commissee being there to joyne with them) sent to *Sir Tho: Glenham*, that if he would surrender the Towne, they would propound him conditions, and the security of the *Parliament* for performance. The Lord *Kirkabright* meets the Drum, examines his businesse, and gives way to his going in; *Sir Thomas Glenham* desires the security of a Generall, for the performance of Articles, and thereupon, a Messenger of his owne, one *Captaine Philipson* is sent to my Lord *Fairfax* and the Earle of *Leven* to know their pleasure, having a passe from the *English* Commissioners, and the Lord *Kirkabright*, and being accompanied with an *English* Captaine from the Commissioners, and a *Scotch* Officer from the Lord *Kirkabright*; he goes to my Lord *Fairfax*, but finding my Lord of *Leven* to be gone out of *Yorkeshire*, and the time for his returne well-nigh expired, he durst not adventure to goe into *Nottinghamshire*, to the Earle of *Leven*, his Passe being limited onely to *Yorkeshire*, and therefore he returned to *Carlisle*, and my Lord *Fairfax* writes to the Earle of *Leven* about that businesse. *David Lesley* in the meane time, was sent with all speed towards *Carlisle*, he comes thither before the Messenger returns and forbids his going in, whereupon *Sir Thomas Glenham* seeing his Messenger stopped by the *Scots* Commander, notwithstanding the Passe of the *English* Commissioners, and the Lord *Kirkabright*, he supposes they had most power, and falls to Treaty with him, which Lieutenant Generall *Lesley* never acquainted our Commissioners with, but notwithstanding their minding him of the Treaty, and Covenant, their Protestation against his proceedings without them; he concludes the Treaty, set Guards of Horse upon the *Englishs*, enters the Towne, and puts a Garrison in it, where it yet remaineth. This is a true and briefe account of the siege and taking of *Carlisle*. Some Annotations must be made upon the Narrative in *Truths Manifest*.

First, he chargeth the *English* Souldiers, that lay there, of
I being

being false to the Service, in shooting powder, suffering Provisions to goe in, entring into combination with the Enemy, to fall upon the Scots, and promising not to help them. These accusations are as false, as foule; it is strange these things were never questioned, nor complained of, till now the Towne is taken. We can assure that a *Scottish* Officer being desired to relieve Collonel *Chalmers* men, when the Enemy sallied out; he refused to stirre being at the next Post, and neare at hand, and suffered the men to be lost, shew us such a carriage of the *English*. If want of Orders be pretended as it was by him, either the Orders were defective or the man. The *English* desire also to put it to the issue, who let most provision goe in, Captaine *Philipson* indeed sallied out with a Party of Horse, on the *Scottish* Post, and fetched fourty head of Cattell, or thereabout, and two Pieces of Ordnance out of their Sconce; parallel that Act also; As for the point of the treacherie, they disclaim it and defie it; why should you compell me to say that on the *Scottish* side, Sir *James Lesley* and his Lady with her sister, who were both Papists, hadingresse, and regresse into *Carlisle*, by their meanes, that Sir *Timothy Fetherston* was suffered to come to *Penrith*, and there dranke the *Parliaments* confusion, and yet was afterwards suffered to come forth againe, at which time he broke his Paroll, and went either to *Ireland*, or the King; that *Denton* and *Carleton*, notorious Malignants, were suffered to goe up and downe, and disaffect the people, and raile upon the *Parliament*; and when sent for by the *English* Commissioners, were protested against their power and iustice? The foulness of your imputations hath forced from me these things, which no slight occasion should, but by this you may judge who favoured Malignants most.

It is further charged, that these double minded Leaders enter into a private Treaty with the Enemy, and offer him great conditions. This was a mistake or worse, there was no Leaders medled, but the *English* Commissioners who proceeded no further, then the Narrative relates, and never offered any conditions at all; As for the Scots offering reasonable conditions, lesse advantagi-

ous to the Enemy then the *English*. You have heard the *English* offered no conditions; let us see what the *Scots* offered, they were such as they would never impart, neither to our Commissioners nor the *Parliament*: but a Copy was obtained which they deny not, wherein was granted almost what was asked, as Liberty to goe to any Garrison they should name, to have a Convoy, as they had to *Worcester*, above a hundred miles distant; the immunities of the Church and Church-men, freedome to take the Covenant or not, Libertie to goe with what they would, (except Towne and Ordinance) whither they would, and to have free Quarter; in a word, never so high Articles given to any Town, never any Town had lesse reason to expect it, had things been fairely carried: for they were eating Dogs and Horses, and could not subsist three dayes.

What followes is almost wholly false, that the Enemy tooke the *Scots* Conditions, because he could not trust the *English* Officers.

The *English* Officers medled not in the businesse, because a Committee was present there of *English*; *scil.* Sir *VVilliam Armine*, Mr. *Darley*, Mr. *Barnis*, whom the Generall would not, much lesse should the Lieutenant Generall have dealt so with, as not to acquaint them with the Treaty. And as for the Commission given to Lieutenant Generall *Lesley*, to take in the Towne, upon what conditions he thought fit, he shewed no such in writing; if he had, it had been unjust, we having Commissioners upon the place: And he concludes this strange story of *Carlisle*, with the pretended reasons, why the *Scots* put in a Garrison into *Carlisle*, (*scil.*) Because they had found base, and wicked dealings; by some of the chiefe men in the *Northerne Counties*, and to keep it out of the hands of *Malignants*; and especially, Sir *VVilfrid Lawson*, who under the name of the chiefe Commander, is no better then railed on; consider the condtion of this Gentleman, it's true, he cannot be justified throughout; he lived in an ill aire, and was infected with it, but never stirred out of the County, to doe any prejudice to the *Parliament*: but suffered imprisonment for his not ready compliance with the Commissioners of *Aray*.

When it was to any purpose for him to appeare on the behalfe of the *Parliament*, he raised a Regiment of Horse, and another of Foot, for the Service of the *Parliament*, which he applied himselfe to with all diligence, and can produce testimonies of his care and fidelity, under the hands of those you say distrusted him; and was of very good reputation with the *Scots*, till the time of the surrender drew neare, and then his appearing for an *English* Garrison, and refusing to quit his Fort, caused all this bitterness. Is it possible that the *Scots* should distrust him, so little guilty of Delinquency, in respect of them they have upon all occasions embraced, as Major Craister, and procured to be imployed, as Collonel Brandling in *Northumberland*, and their own *Urrey*? and are not there now divers whom they trust in their Army, who have served against the *Parliament*?

So that it may appeare, their enmity to Malignancy was not the cause; but what need we seek further for a reason then the Letter of Generall Leven, dated at *Mansfield*, June 20. 1645. wherein he informes our Commissioners, then upon the place, That he had sent Lieutenant Generall Lesley, with full power and instructions, in such things as concerne the INTEREST of the *Scots* Nation, and desires their compliance with him, which he never asked; The Interest is there declared to be the businesse, a word that troubles all the world. And hereto I might adde a Letter from two *Scottish* Ministers, (one a Commissioner at *London*) to our Commissioners (it seemes the Kirke also is concerned in this Garrison) in which are these words; Wee interpose our earnest desire to you, that there may be a chearful condescending to Lieutenant Generall Lesley, so farre as that the Towne of *Carlisle* may be delivered into his custody, untill the further declaration of the *Parliaments* pleasure. Hereby as you shall preserve your reputation of being good friends to our Nation, so wee verily beleve you shall do good service to the *Parliament* and *Kingdome*, and shall never have cause to repent it. These are the words of the Letter transcribed here from the originalls; I was loath to trouble the Reader with the whole, the Treatise being already growne into a bulke beyond intention; Onely this; It is said that the Forces there had
starved,

starved, had not the Generall sent part of the money to them which was sent to Newcastle, to enable the Scots to take field; because a double use may be made of this, as not onely in this place, but also to excuse the Scots, being no better provided in their March, which caused them to stay in *Yorkshire* for Provision, when they were expected Southwards; It is answered, those two Counties of *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland*, had been so pressed, that Generall *Leven*, the Earle of *Callander*, & the *English* Commissioners had under their hands acquitted them of further burthens, and therefore offered them to undertake their Siege at their own charge, with their own force. And if the Generall had according to agreement recalled his men, he needed not to have parted with the money to *Carlisle*: but enough of *Carlisle*, and more then enough.

Pag. 83. the Gentleman puts to Sea, and finds fault with the Parliaments Ships not doing their dutie, by reason of which divers Ships of the well-affected were taken, and the Coasts of *Scotland* not guarded, to their great prejudice; and in the issue reduces this fault, not onely to neglect, but secret connivence, that is, unfaithfulness: For the imputation of unfaithfulness, let those that were employed answer it, if this Author will plainly accuse them.

As for the mischances, we know we daily suffer at Land, the Sea is more hazardous. But I observe men deale not so well with our Mariners, as they doe with Fortune-tellers, and Almanack-makers; for if they tell you but one thing that falls out accordingly, you admire them, and almost adore them, but take not notice of twenty lyes; here on the contrary, let our Sea-men doe many good turnes (as divers of them have done) (let mee name the Noble Earle of *Warwicke*, Vice-Admirall *Batten*, Capt. *Moulton*, &c.) they are never thought of, but any misfortune is sure to be set upon their score. As for the guarding the Coasts of *Scotland*, I beleieve it hath not been so well as was expected or intended, the multiplicity and distraction of affaires with us hath been such. But there is no reason to lay the damage of *Scotland* upō the want of that Guard; for the *Irish* were but very few hundreds, as this Author ac-

know-

knowledgeth, *Pag. 90.* that came over, and the passage is so short, that notwithstanding Ships upon the Coast, men might easily be transported from *Ireland to Scotland*, or the *Isles*, as appears by divers Ships, who have got into our *English Harbours* with armes and ammunition, notwithstanding all our Guards.

Pag. 84. He proceeds, as he saith, to another businesse, and such a one as if he had not wanted businesse, he would have omitted, the businesse is to cast all possible odium upon *Independents*, where for want of a good argument, he loads them with ill words, calls them *factious and fantastical head-strong ones, men without love to the peace of the Church of God.* *Pag. 84.* *Seekers, (scil.) such as seek themselves under the pretence of Truth, and set up their own fancies, men that will not settle upon any thing, unlesse it be in continuing in phreneticall fancies.* And as if he were not content to weary men, he provoketh God also, and saith, *God knows they are destitute of all charity.* Sir, where is your charity the whiles? he that loves the smell, may have a bundle of these flowers, *Pag. 86.* All the corne in this chaffe, the charge in this clamour, beside generall invectives, is; *That those men will not absolutely and positively professe what they would be at, but they have manifested the contrary, declaring the things wherein they would be forborne, in their Paper at the Committee of Accommodation.* I have nothing to say to this, but that unlesse you give better words, or better arguments, you will by such language and carriage make men *Independents.*

They are further charged with abominable lying, in perswading the people of the rigidity of the *Presbyterian Government*, and the diminution of Christian liberty thereby, and confutes him with the lenity of the Churches of *Scotland and France.* I doe not say that both are true, but both may. It is possible for a Church to be too strict in their principles, and too loose in their practice. But why should the man be so angry, since the businesse concerning Church-Government, as himselfe acknowledges *Pag. 89.* is concluded maugre *Independents?*

In the same Page the Author goes on to mention and remove

two rubs in the way to a compleating *Presbyteriall Government* : the first is that some will not allow it to be of Divine right ; the second, that some are willing to reserve the power of excluding from the Sacrament to the Civill Magistrate.

These are so tender points, in which others of greater ability are engaged, that I dare not meddle, though me thinkes I could deale with this Author : First, he saith it is demonstrated to have its ground in Scripture so clearly that it cannot be denied, and practised by the Apostles, and their successors. For the demonstrations, they are not so cleare for all the parts of the Government, but that they may be (as they are) denied. That of Lay-Elders was found in the Assembly a very difficult point, and the Superinduction, of Provinciaall, Nationall, Presbyteriall Assemblies, to Congregationall, though for my part I approve of them, yet I beleieve they are not demonstrable in Scripture with undeniable clearnesse. And as for the practice of the Apostles, they cannot be adequately urged, because they were not Parochiall Presbyters, but had a generall care, and superintendency over the Churches, and a greater Authority then Ministers now adayes. The Councell at *Jerusalem* where they were was occasionate, not mensstruall, or annuall : As for the successors of the Apostles, it is doubtfull what they did, antiquity is so fallible, but it is not doubtfull, that whilst the Apostles lived, the mystery of iniquity worked, and preeminence was loved, so that all the practises of their times, much lesse of their Successors cannot be urged. I am no Enemy to the *Presbyteriall Government*, as it may be ordered. Appeales are naturall, and necessary ; Aristocracy is the most even Government, if faction can be avoided : but I could wish that all the people of God, especially the Ministers of Christ, who should goe before them, would tread in that more excellent way, charity mentioned by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 12. ult.* and be more carefull to advance the power of godlinesse then their own ; but *manum de tabula* ; If we have the Government, as we are like to have, let us not fall out for the title ; I have knowne men spend more about a title, then the Land hath been worth.

For

For the second Impediment which is alledged to be the great stirre about admitting or keeping of people from the Table of the Lord. The case seemes to be thus, Wee have a multitude of people in this Kingdome ignorant and prophane, many who have a name to live, but are dead, as by their dead workes appeares, these are to be torme into Churches by vertue of their externall profession. This is *fundi nostri calamitas*, and makes the matter so difficult, I beleeeve the abstention, unless in cases of great difficulty, lyes in the particular Congregation, though not without appeale, which if it were constituted and ordered as it ought, the strife would cease.

But in this condition that we are, where many a good man is in danger to straine his charity, why should there be so great and dangerous a stirre, if there be a recession from the rule, which is not so cleare? I know as little ground for the busines of tryers for Election of Elders, which tells us already, wee must have Congregations not fit to choose their own Officers, but we submit to it in regard of the difficulty of our condition: and better (if I may so say) were it if the Ministers would exercise the power they have, which they shall find will give them many troubles in this businesse, then to presse it with publique prejudice, and (not to prejudge the Parliament) for the Parliament to grant what is desired, were better then to run a greater inconvenience. But I recall my selfe, and to make satisfaction for the adventure I have made, I will passe by the discourse of the Author, in straitning the bounds of power betwixt the Magistrate and the Minister, I am afraid of meddling with power; Power especially in the Ministers of the Gospel any further then absolutely necessary to the service and edification of the Church, is very troublesome and dangerous, and so they will finde it; the power of the Word is great, the power of love is not little.

Pag. 89. Upon the mention of the *Scots* desire to the Parliament, that having had so good successe in their affaires of late, they would send to the King for peace; He declares the equitie, and yet improbabilitie of it, in regard, as he sayes, the King is chiefe agent in the designe of spirituall and temporall slavery,

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in which he is upheld by Foreign Nations against his Subjects. The Parliament hath been carefull to apply themselves to the King, for a safe and well grounded peace upon all occasions; whether they are alwayes bound to strive with him, it is not for me to determine. But if he be the chiefe agent, as this Author sayes, I would gladly understand why we court the chiefe agent, and punish the accessary instruments. As for the Interest of particular Princes in the Kings cause, I omit them, as also the Narrative of the *Scottish* affaires, which I know little of the transaction of them, but heartily resent their sufferings, I pray God give them a right use of them, and full deliverance. As for calumnies and affronts, wherewith some are complained to have repaid them, I dislike and detest them with this Author, if any such be.

Page. 101. He passeth on to another story of two severall attempts of Cajeoling upon the Parliaments party by the Court; the first, by Commissioners, *Richmond* and *Southampton*; the second by *Savill*, as I suppose, wherein, he sayes, they found their designe upon the *Scots* to be the blowing of a cold coale, and with this coale he smites the *Independents*, at least with some suspicions and surmises, and referres to intercepted Letters and Papers. But if wee regard Papers, who will be without blot? You know here hath been a great rumour about the *Scots* Treating with the *French*, and it may be that Papers and Letters mention it; but shall wee beleieve it? No surely: I am confident they will not stretch out their hands to a strange God; but consider rather the latter end of 44 *Psalm*. If ever that should come to passe, I would goe into some Protestant Monastery, and say, *Miserere mei*, for there were no conversing in this world any more.

Page. 103. The Author enters upon the march of the *Scottish* Army, from *Nottingham* to *Hereford*; in the way he takes notice of the Committee of *Worcester* there, who are charged with misguiding the Army: but I wonder not that a Plot should be found out in *Worcestershire* Committee, whereas the removing of the *Scottish* Commissioners from the Citie to the

good aire, and accommodation of *Worcestershire House*, is also found guilty of a designe. Pag. 52. which is said to be an endeavour, to make them strangers to the City, but I beleeve, that distance hath been made up with double diligence.

In this businesse of *Hereford*, there are two imputations laid: one more generall, that the Army for want of provisions were constrained to live upon fruits; It is well that God made some provision when men failed: but we all know, that unlesse Resolutions be timely made knowne, that endeavours may be used proportionably; it is almost unavoydable, for an Army to undergoe some want, when they pitch before a Towne, in regard that the ability of the Quarters is overnumbred, and the Country cannot provide so soone as is wished, or wanted. But it is said, pag. 105. that at last some provision came, but then Ammunition wanted: that's hard, were it not necessary that there must be some necessity, the thing may be true, but how it should come to passe, is out of my reach; when the Army having received Ammunition in good proportion at *Newcastle*, with a particular respect to their march, had no considerable occasion to spend it, betwixt that and *Hereford*. The second charge is more particular against some Members of the Committee of both Kingdomes, who withdrew, that so for want of a full Committee, Order could not be given for the dispose of some Horse, to strengthen the siege, which defaults occasioned the raising of it: Sure that man who hindred the continuance of the siege (if without greater disadvantage it might be done) was as little a friend to the publick Service, as to the *Scottish Army*, and it had been well he were named; And did not I barre recrimination, I could tell you, when there hath been no Committee, for regulating the *Scots Army* for the space of three moneths, and more, for want of Commissioners from *Scotland*: But, as for the possibility of sending Horse from the siege at *Bristol*; he that knowes the very hard duty, that *Sir Thomas Fairfaxes* Horse had there, and the great danger in regard of the Enemy in the West; and
withall,

withall, considers the great importance of that service, both in regard of gaining the City, and preserving the Army; I beleeve, will consent with the Truth rather then the *Manifest*.

But I will make a faire motion, that all the disputes concerning the carriage of the businesse of *Hereford*, might be ended in that happy Act of oblivion, which was done by the vigilance, and dexterity of Collonel *Morgan*, and *Birch*, and the gallant adventure of the Lieutenant, who surpris'd the Guard; the City is taken, and we have all reason to be satisfied. Pag. 111. Upon occasion of the sad newes from *Scotland* (which the Author acknowledges was heartily resent'd, as by divers well affected, so, especially by the Houses of *Parliament*, (who appointed a publick Fast on that behalfe) some reproches are cast upon the *Independents*, who are also said to have leaped for joy of the infortune of the *Scots*; It's answered that revilings need no answer: As for what is laid to the charge of *Independents*; because, sometimes the Army under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, goes under that notion, I must not conceale how earnestly the chiefe Officers of that Army were affected with the ill tydings from *Scotland*, and how heartily they expressed it in a most affectionate Letter, sent from the Generall, Lieutenant Generall *Crumwell*, and other Commanders, which I am confident they will make good in actions, if the necessity of that Kingdome should ever so require, for they are not so voyd, neither of charity nor gratitude, as this Author pretends. I know no Kingdome, that *England* is behind hand with in reall kindnesse, I hope they will not begin with *Scotland*.

As for the objection made, pag. 112. concerning Lieutenant Generall *Leffeyes* going into *Scotland*, upon notice of the ill condition of affaires there given by the Chancellor, he can best answer it that made it. I thinke he wanted respect to the good of both Nations, who expressed any unwillingnesse to the reliefe of that Kingdome, in such necessity, but I cannot but take notice of what is said, pag. 114. of the cold com-

Animadversions.

fort yielded by this Kingdome to their Neighbours, when things were made knowne. To which it is returned, that the Parliament of England, waited onely for the desires of Scotland, to be made knowne to them in that behalfe: but the Scots were farre more shy in asking help, then the English in affording it; We had Commissioners then at *Barwick*, witnesses of their condition, to whom indeed, some Noble-men, and Gentlemen of Scotland, made a Proposition for sending for Collo-nel Poyntz, and Rossiter, to come to their reliefe, and that the Forces about *Hereford* might march for supplying, and securing the Northerne Counties, and opposing the attempts of the Enemy there, which our Commissioners not having power in, speedily represented to those that had, by a paper from the Scots Lords, as a memoriall of their desires therein (for the Scots were no Committees) and the next day after upon receipt of Letters from *David Lesley* there at *Bawtry*; a Nobleman, and a Gentleman of that Kingdome, and of the Committee, were sent to our Commissioners, and in the name of the rest, receded from their desires in the fore-mentioned paper, which put our Commissioners upon a contradiction of their former Intelligence, represented to the Parliament; and though it was propounded by some of our Commissioners (in that time of so great necessity) that a considerable number of Scottish Forces might be drawn out of the Towns, and Castles in the North of England, (besides the Towne of *Barwick*) which might be able to make up a competent strength to oppose the Enemy; yet that advise was not approved of by the Scots. So that it easily appeares, where the ground either of delays, or denyals of help were. As for the Parliament, they readily yielded to the march of the Scots Army Northward, for the reliefe of their owne Kingdome, notwithstanding their engagements in the South, which was as much, as was, or could be desired. So that I suppose the severe intermination, that the setting the promise of a small help at the rate was then offered, will be blamed by Posterity, when it shall be recorded what Scotland hath done, and undergone for their
Brethren,

Brethren, and what thanks the Scots have for their paines, might have been left out; notwithstanding the particulars which said to be spared till another occasion.

Page. 116. I find an unfitting parallel betwixt Cardinall Richelieu, and the *English Parliament*, (for though the *Parliament* be not named, yet those who are carefull of the *English* Armies, are, which must needs be they) who are made to agree in this point of Politick injustice, to set men on worke, and purposely deny them necessaries, that through their miscarriage, others might be advanced. Certainly, though that Cardinall must needs be acknowledged a man of eminent parts and policy, of which he hath left a monument that yet stands; yet after that this Author had branded him, with pride, Ambition, Tyranny, and Atheisme, which are no Cardinal vertues; me thinkes he might have used more Brotherly kindnesse to the *Parliament of England*, then to make such an unworthy reflection. But as for the wants of the *Scottish* Army, if enough have not been already said, let me adde this, the way not to want in *England* is to worke, and I am confident, that had they done the proportion of worke, that other Armies have done, they would have had the same proportion of wages, and if others had done no more, they had got as little.

This page is closed with an unjust, though not usuall bitterness; against the once Governour of *Bristol*, whose returne to sit in *Parliament*, is said to be matter of astonishment to the world.

The world is wide sir, and so are you. But why so angry? me thinks the taking the City so considerable, might have softened your spirit. We use to grace solemn occasions with some Acts of favour: why not the taking of *Bristol*, with receiving Mr. *Fiennes*? especially the retaking of the Towne, affording an Argument *à major ad minus*. What is the quarrell? the Gentleman had before surrendred it, for which he was sentenced by a Councell of Warre.

As for the Councell of Warre, I beleeve they were guided
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by honour and Conscience in what they did ; And by vertue of the Article, obliging the Governour of a Towne , to hold out to extremity, condemned the Gentleman. The Generall remitting the *summum jus*, concurred not for execution of the sentence: the gentleman lives and does well, may he long do so; he hath left the Camp, he follows the Counsell, a worke suitable to his parts acknowledged by this Author , to be fit for a Senate. You complaine of his friends, for putting him upon an imployment ; of which (you say) he was not capable; but are you free from blame to deny him an imployment, for which you acknowledge him so well fitted ? he never was engaged neither in Counsell, nor in Armes against this Cause, as some who are to be found in other Counsellis or Armies : but *parcitis ista*, I adde but this, the Gentleman hath received some wrong by this charge, but the *Parliament* more , it being an unjust reflection upon their Wisdome, and Priviledge, that they should be taxed for dealing with their owne Members , as they thinke best for the publick good of the Kingdome.

As for that passage, of Souldiers bawling in the fields, Coblers pratling in Tubs in stead of preaching,

————— *Ne sevi migne Sacerdos;*
Quam scit uterq; libens censebo exerceat artem.

Pag. 122. He proceeds to exagitation of a piece of a Letter, written from Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, upon the taking of Bristol: First, he wonders the latter part of the Letter now published by him, was suppressed by that Authority, that printed the other part. It is no wonder, that the *Parliament* intending to recommend to the people matter of thanksgiving, should not withhold that part of the Letter , wherein there were some passages , tending rather to doubtfull disputation, then undoubted gratulation, which I conceive was the reason of it ; It is a greater wonder to me, that this Author should so confidently print it , when the *Parliament* had forbid it.

As

Animadversions.

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As for the expressions of the Letter recited, and animadverted; I hold not my selfe obliged to say any thing, I am no mans Champion but an Advocate to the truth, and a servant (not as I am like to be taxed) a Parazite to the *Parliament*: but if I were minded to call the Letter, and the Annotations upon it to a review, it were easie to find as may irregularities in the notes, as the Author of the *Manifest* doth in the Text.

From hence the *Manifest* finds an easie passage to the *Independents*, aggravating their ill, *Pag. 127.* extenuating their good service, *Pag. 128.* I am loath to leave so ill a relish in the minds or mouthes of the Readers, as to repeate the imputations, but take them as they are; *Men that serve themselves into imployment, engage the Pamphleteers to set forth lyes and tales for them, causes of disturbances, blasphemies, heresies, violation of the Covenant, underminers, factious, guilty of a malicious plot, bringers of confusion into the Church, and consequently, Anarchy into the State, men that doe all for by-ends, that joyne with others, as the Papists with Malignants for their own Interests.* Tantæ animis coelestibus iræ? To this I answer in the words of the Apostle James; *My beloved brethren, let every man be swift to heare, slow to speake, slow to wrath, for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousnesse of God.* I cannot conceive how they that are singly *Independents*, that is, men dissenting from other Governments in the constitution, and ordering of a Congregation, should deserve so much bitterness; First, they desire a liberty of collecting their members from severall Parishes, and would have an union of hearts rather then a neighbourhood of houses to make up a Congregation. It cannot be denied, but that this would produce many inconveniences, which no doubt will be remonstrated; but me thinkes, if it be not tolerable for its consequents, it should be pardonable for its grounds, arising from a desire of all possible puritie in an Assembly. Wee shall all be in this point *Independent* in our desires and endeavours, and must be constrained to set up a Congregation within a Parish, when wee debarre one halfe from the Sacrament, and admit the other, which

Jam. 1. 19.
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which is like to be the case in many places. Secondly, they desire a liberty to ordaine their own Officers. This is the practice of *Presbyterians* also for all Officers but Pastors: To their admission also the reasonable consent of the people is allowed, and the approbation which gives life to the Ordination. Thirdly, they desire a freedome from the Presbyteries, and Synods; An association of Churches, me thinks they should not deny; a necessitie of Synods they allow, the difference is, whether the acts of such meetings should be by way of advice, or authority, whether the meetings should be settled or occasionall: for reconciling these let us consider, the one would have State-meetings, the other upon emergencies, both agree they should be as oft as necessity is, and no oftner; in case it be oftner, it is as nothing to that Congregation which hath no reference thither. As for that of advice, and authoritie, I have read a position in *Voetius* the Professor of Theology at *Utrecht*, a very learned man and a *Presbyterian*, to this purpose, *Potestas Ecclesia est directiva, non jurisdictionis*, It is to be found in a disputation *de unione & regimine Ecclesiarum*, wherein are many things that sound to moderation; but this difference I beleeve will finde more dispute in notion then opposition in action, I should wave both the debates of *jus divinum* in Presbyteries, and the authority of Assemblies, and remit things to the practice. If the dictates, or rather directions of a Presbytery, or Synod be agreeable to the Word of God, and publique Peace, and edification, I should embrace them, were the Authority of a Synod never so little, were they repugnant to these rules, and ends, either in themselves, or my apprehension, (which yet I should strive to get informed with all diligence and humility) I must be spared, were their authority never so great.

The next, and indeed the last thing of moment is the *London-Petition*, which this Author approves, and prints, and contests with the Parliament about the receiving Petitions in generall, and this in particular. But this Gentleman and I are of so different tempers, that I shall not take so much liberty to dispute on the behalfe of the Parliaments Priviledge and practice

in this particular, as he doth against it ; They best know their own Priviledges, and how to maintaine them. This I know, that there is no better way to preserve the peoples liberty, then by keeping inviolate the Parliaments Priviledge. If there be a necessity of Rulers, for the conservation of Liberty (as there is) there is an equall necessitie of preserving the authority of those Rulers, especially employing their endeavours for publique good, as the Parliament doth.

The Petition was well framed for the substance of it, and is granted for the maine, if the Parliament thought it too binding, and particular, and judged better to grant the thing, then receive the Petition, who need find fault when they that Petition are gainers, and they that grant are no losers ?

As for the Citie of *London*, their deserts are such of this Cause, and Kingdome, that I am confident, no reasonable thing, much lesse religious, will be denied them, and I am as confident they will aske no other. They understand the need and use the Parliament have had, and have of them, and they also apprehend the neare relation, and dependance, they have upon the Parliament, and may easily foresee the fractions would arise in so great a multitude, did not the countenance and Authoritie of Parliament restraints.

Their mutuall advantage depends upon their agreement, which whosoever goes about to interrupt, let them be divided in *Jacob*, and scattered in *Israell*.

For a close, let me take that passage of the *Manifest* concerning the endeavour of the enemy to divide the Nations, and his own hopes, (to which I adde mine) that they shall not prevail. Certainly, our endeavour should be to prevent the fulfilling of theirs, especially in a thing so important to Religion and the good of these Kingdomes.

The scrupulous thoughts of offence made me sometimes to forbear this answer : which yet I have endeavoured so to order as not to give any offence ; if it be taken, I shall be sorry, yet glad that it is not given. It may possibly breed me some disquiet, but why should I purchase my own peace, with the losse

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of truth ? If I have incurred one trouble, I am sure I have avoided another, which was to me a great one, *sc.* to see the obligations of this Kingdome aggravated, their ingratitude recorded, the Parliament affronted, the Commissioners abused, the people deceived ; these are things I have endeavoured to right ; forgive me this wrong, I will trouble you no more, unless this Author continue in a resolution of a fuller discourse (as he intimates in the end of his *Manifest*) which I desire might be forborne ; For if there be no remedy, we shall also find a Reserve.



F I N I S.



Postscript.

W^Hereas it may be said that this labour might have bin spared, in regard of the Censure adjudged by *Parliament* to *Truths Manifest*; I answer, that there is as much difference betwixt a Censure and an Answer, as betwixt the offence in writing the Booke, and the hurt done by spreading it. The *Parliament* have taken just notice of the fault, but have not thereby prevented the mischiefe; for since the Author was call'd in question, the book hath been studiously dispersed, and (as I beleeeve) reprinted, and hath found some Readers so confident, as to say, that the book was censured, because it could not be answered, the contrary of which doth now appeare.